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Restoring Faith in the 'Republican Brand'
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to all, and to all a good night.
The Crusades, Part 5: The Ottomans and the Christians
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CORRESPONDENCE

Fredenburg's hoary myths

Michael S. Fredenburg ("Foolish trade policy torpedoes the GOP," *CPR* Jan./Feb. 2009) counsels Republicans to set their course based "on reality" rather than on "ideologically-driven myths." But his column is one hopeless muddle of economic mythology mixed with legitimate criticism. His entirely reasonable concerns about vast GOP over-spending, irresponsible additions to the national debt, and unfunded Social Security obligations alternate with worries based exactly on some of liberalism's hoariest myths. He frets about "lost manufacturing jobs," "trade deficits," and communist China's "predatory" trade policies.

Regarding "lost manufacturing jobs" and "predatory" trade policies — if America can buy the manufactured goods it requires more economically from another country, it is better off to do so. In the world of liberal economic myth, a farmer would count it a "predatory trade policy" if a business offered to sell him manufactured tools at a fraction of the price it costs him to make them himself. And he'd call it a "lost manufacturing job" if he availed himself of this opportunity to stop making his own tools so he could devote his time and resources to what he is in business to do and what he does best: farming. Division of labor is, of course, absolutely essential before any economy can begin to achieve its potential for prosperity.

Mr. Fredenburg asks "Do we really want to pursue trade polities pumping trillions of dollars into the economy of a morally bankrupt, fundamentally evil system of government?" This is a moral argument, not economic, and so belongs in another context. But as any sort of argument it is fatally flawed because it begins from a false premise. Mr. Fredenburg admits that to keep this trade situation going, China must spend billions subsidizing its steel industry. Those subsidies are feeding the U.S. economy, going directly to American consumers in the form of lower prices. They are a vast *drain* on China protecting *us* from the full cost of Chinese production. If this is "predatory," let it come. The only unfairness, if you want to call it that, is *our* benefiting at the expense of Chinese wealth producers victimized by their government's backward mercantilism. "Don't throw me in that briar patch," Brer Rabbit pleaded with Brer Fox. As well might we plead with foreign countries to stop helping us at their own expense through subsidized trade.

Regarding "trade deficits" — this notion is pure myth. If foreign countries sell to us, the only way they can make any use of the dollars we spend on their products is to buy *our* products because we are the only ones who will take back those dollars in trade. The truth is, the importing we do is what makes exporting possible. Importing and exporting are flip sides of the same coin; if government policy cuts down either one, the other must come down as well. The dollars that go out must come back to us in the form of purchases of U.S. goods for export: they have nowhere else to go. And the exports we send out must come back in the form of imports. If they did not, those receiving our exports would have no way of paying for them. "Trade deficits" are the Unicorns of liberal economic myth.

Mr. Fredenburg might have argued for maintaining U.S. manufacturing capacity (despite the inefficiency of such a course) as a matter of of military preparedness, but he did not, saying only that "U.S. trade policy is both a political and economic disaster." Not economic, and not political if Republicans would explain the truth of the matter to voters. The road back for Republicans probably begins with a careful re-reading of Henry Hazlett's *Economics in One Lesson.*

Robert McNaughton
Sacramento

CPR

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Merely substitute "spring" for "winter" in Willie Shakespeare's "now is the winter of our discontent" line, and you sum up (albeit understate) the state capitol mood as daffodil blooms give way to camellias and roses: it is foul, the air toxic, and the atmosphere rancid in and out of the Capitol.

The tax-raising budget "deal" and the special election propositions to implement it have made Sacramento uglier than your *Spectator* has ever seen it — and that covers a lot of years. The alienation of their Party's rank-and-file that Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and his tax-raising enablers in both legislative of the GOP caucuses have achieved is unprecedented.

In addition, and even worse (if you wish Republicans well), the GOP base is demoralized and whatever credibility the Republican brand still held for voters is largely destroyed. For decades, opposition to higher taxes was one GOP rock on which voters thought they could stand with confidence, and the Schwarzenegger/Maldonado wrecking crew have vaporized it. That leaves — what? workers' compensation insurance reform? — for voters to employ to contrast the Republican with the Democrat programs for governing. The loyal opposition! The grand alternative! ... The choice that is no more than an echo.

It mightn't have been so bad if this political miscalculation weren't so familiar. But this has become an endlessly-repeated scenario. (I am again supposing that those responsible for it in fact *do* wish the GOP well. And, of course, I know I cannot include in that supposition the governor who has repeatedly made clear his conviction that loyality and honor *vis-a-vis* one's stated principles are not for *him* to bother about.)

After holding out, sometimes for months, for a state budget they could honestly support, Republican leaders end anti-climatically by cutting a deal with the Democrats that grants Californians a few crumbs of slightly less horrible policy in exchange for supporting several major policy disasters. Every time, the voters see the maneuvering not as making the best of a bad deal, but more simply as proving, once again, that Reps in office can't be trusted. Fool me how many times?

Some bookmaker could realize a tidy profit (and, for all I know, one already has) from the Capitol's many and various state workers possessed of sporting blood by making book each year on whether the Republicans will yet again be seduced by media/Democrat/spending lobby blandishments into sacrificing their political credentials with voters through one more bad budget deal. Oliver Wendell Holmes famously noted that "Even a dog knows the difference between being kicked and being stumbled over" or, perhaps, between participating in honest bargaining and being taken to the cleaners. If so, Sacramento Republicans, as a matter of established historical fact, appear to be less perceptive than Mr. Holmes's rhetorical canine.

And, of course, it's all led to a palpable air of hopelessness among GOP operatives, staffers, and Republican-leaning "Third House" denizens. It hangs over your capital city like the winter fogs. In thinking of Schwarzenegger's crippling effect on his Party's morale, unity, energy, and focus, your *Spectator* is reminded of another Oliver — Oliver Cromwell who, addressing the "Rump Parliament," was moved — powerfully — to say: "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!"

— *A.P.C.*

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The Working Press

The 'newspaper model' has gone *kaput*

The L.A. Times, *'stretch[ing] traditional boundaries,' tries front-page ads and talks of going 'digital.'*

GEORGE NEUMAYR

LOS ANGELES TIMES owner Sam Zell has bluntly admitted that it was dumb to purchase the plummeting paper and other Tribune Company properties in 2007.

"By definition, if you bought something and it's now worth a great deal less, you made a mistake, and I'm more than willing to say I made a mistake," Zell told Bloomberg Television in April. "I was too optimistic in terms of the newspaper's ability to preserve its position."

The "newspaper model" has gone *kaput,* Zell said, and "the sooner we all acknowledge that the better." Asked if his newspapers might go digital, he replied, "We are seriously looking at everything because in effect the future of the newspaper industry is at risk today."

One hasty change in early April at the *Times* was to run a lucrative front-page advertisement for NBC that resembled a news story. Other flagging papers have resorted to front-page ads, but nothing as audacious as that. After the faux-story triggered outrage, *Times* management didn't even bother to go through the rigmarole of apologizing. They just called the ad one of the "innovative approaches" the paper is pursuing to bail out of the storm. "That includes creating unique marketing opportunities for our advertising partners, and today's NBC 'Southland' ad was designed to stretch traditional boundaries," they said.

Naturally, the paper's oh-so-self-important reporters complained bitterly about the ad. "This place already had horrible morale problems with decimating layoffs, but now to have our publisher whore out the front page is more than we can stand," commented one editorial staffer to *Reuters.* "It blurs the line between paid content and content that our reporters are producing." Front-page outrages, they evidently feel, fall within their exclusive jurisdiction.

A hundred reporters quickly whipped up a petition to complain that "The NBC ad may have provided some quick cash, but it has caused incalculable damage to this institution. This action violates a 128-year pact with our readers that the front page is reserved for the most meaningful stories of the day. Placing a fake news article on A-1 makes a mockery of our integrity and journalistic standards."

To which management replied, in effect, by saying: Who cares? We need the money, and nobody is reading your "meaningful stories" anyway.

Publisher Eddy Hartenstein said the ad resulted in a "significant premium" over regular ad rates.

"We are looking at the worst advertising rates in the history of the world," Zell has said.

Zell could not care less about the wounded feelings of reporters. He has baldly said he finds the *Times'* liberal pretensions boring and absurd and can't bring himself to read the paper unless he happens to be passing through LA. He speaks often of "journalistic arrogance." Doing a respectable George S. Patton impersonation, he told one mal-

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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content reporter at a conference in 2008 to "f*** off," and described a long-time *Times* executive he inherited from his predecessor as a "motherf***er."

"It seems like an awful lot of journalism that's being written is not being read," he has observed. "I think that because newspapers have historically been monopolies, I think they have been insulated from reality. I, you know, am in the position where I'm going to have to 'deliver reality.'"

Known to saunter into meetings with bankers while wearing a red polyester jumpsuit, Zell, needless to say, is indifferent to "respectable" opinion. Invited to speak at a University of Hawaii business class several years back, he responded to a question accusing him of greed by saying: "The idea that somehow or other the business community is full of all these greedy characters — you should see the greed in teachers' unions! You should see the greed in any political organization!"

Zell, according to disgruntled staffers, is an eccentric menace heedlessly destroying a "128-year pact with our readers." But has he done any more damage to said pact than its first eccentric menace, surfing scion Otis Chandler? Chandler sealed the paper's eventual demise as a general interest newspaper, trashing its traditional "pact" with its readers for something more like a suicide pact, when he turned it from the respected, moderately conservative, and hugely successful source of news he inherited in 1960 from his father, Norman Chandler, into a niche publication for liberals.

TRACKING THE Hollywood film industry's 1960s' decision to quit worrying about its audiences' preferences in favor of feeding them trendy liberal and left-wing propaganda whether they liked it or not (which was followed immediately by a halving of the number of people buying tickets to see movies, a collapse from which the film industry has never recovered), young Chandler's *Times* fell in with the spirit of the '60s — not as any sort of business decision, sound or unsound, but seemingly as a matter of Otis wanting to be socially well thought of in L.A.'s "elite" (*i.e.*, fashionably liberal) circles.

The Otis Chandler pact-with-the-*elites* was on full display in April when the paper joined most of the na-

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tion's major liberal media in misreporting Americans' massive, spontaneous tax day Tea Party protests. The *Times* report began by mislabeling them "Republican" affairs, discussing them as a GOP-planned and sponsored political stunt.

THE BALANCE of the article was given to citing polls that the paper thought cast doubt on the *political* wisdom of said partisan tactic. An unsuspecting reader picking up the days' *Times* merely wanting to learn who the protesters were, what they were saying, why they were saying it, perhaps something about the size and mood of their gatherings in California and nationally, and what sort of phenomenon this really was (emphatically grass roots spontaneous rather than calculated partisan, and by no means limited to Republicans) — for these readers, the *Times* had nothing to say. And what of a reader perusing the *Times'* crackling pages in search of a thoughtful exposition of the key issues raised by state and national tax increases? Again nothing: *nada* on our historical experience with using tax hikes to balance budgets (they reduce, rather than increase, government revenues), or the human costs they place on ordinary citizens (how about, just once, a sympathetic look at Joe the Plumber? In the *Times?* Are you kidding?), or what economists say tax hikes do to any economy, but especially a drooping one (they aggravate its woes).

Finally, the *Times* had nothing to say about the issue of particular importance to many Californians: the justice of penalizing people who have worked hard and exercised great care to insure they could continue to pay their own way, all in order to bail out others whose carelessness (or mistaken reliance on politicians' assurances and come-ons) has landed them in the soup. The coverage, in short, was altogether consistent with the paper's day-in-and-day-out politically correct reporting, designed *not* to inform its readers, but to make

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

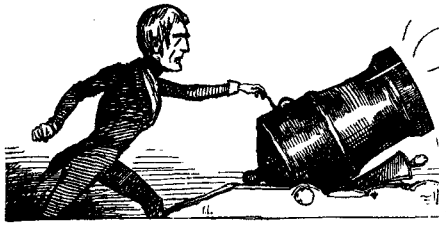
By SAM PAREDES

Democrats regard their policies as self-evidently in the interests of the U.S. working and middle classes ....
— The Financial Times

It's true. The leftists who dominate the Democrat Party really do believe this, and so don't quite know what to make of the extraordinary political engagement now occurring across America. For some it's a shabby GOP stunt, for others it's the last howls of a dying "racist" minority. None seem able to hear the ordinary people's simple message: we voted to oust high-spending, self-serving Republicans, not to install an Obamaesque red revolution trashing the essential structure of our American republic. It is a popular uprising over taxation and gun control.

"Where have we seen this before?" asks rock star Ted Nugent. Where and when have we seen large gatherings of average people opposing government run amok? It happened in Boston and at Lexington and Concord more than 230 years ago. And it happened again: in a largely forgotten, yet monumental, episode in late 1975 ... in Portugal.

After the people ousted a long-ruling tyrannical Portuguese government, communists attempted to seize power. *Time* magazine reported: "A revolution that began by freeing Portugal from a dictatorship of the far right is rapidly evolving into a dictatorship of the far left."



Everyone knew how this story would end: Portuguese freedom would be smashed; everyone, that is, but the people. Just two weeks later *Time* reported: "In the north and central regions, Portugal's conservative Roman Catholics staged violent assaults against one local Communist headquarters after another." In a few days, they eliminated the communist threat to retake their country.

Now, in 2009, we see the people moving in Sacramento, San Antonio, New York City, even San Francisco. *This is real.* The media wants to ignore more than 2,000 Tea Parties, 800 here in California, but can't stop them. Determination grows in direct proportion to apprehension about the future.

Taxes, ruinous regulation, and arrogant office holders were not the voters' choice last year. They're now making that truth known. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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liberals feel good while upsetting conservatives. So why should anyone not a committed liberal buy the paper? (especially with the Internet handily available to provide *all* the information anyone could want, including even left-wing propaganda, often much more literately and entertainingly written than it is in the *Times)?*

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Rosa Brooks, who began her *Los Angeles Times* column in 2005, has left the paper for a position in the Obama administration at the Pentagon. From the *Times* to the Obama administration probably won't be a difficult transition for her.

Before Brooks left, she squeezed out one more inane column, calling for a Soviet-style government bailout for the paper so that "top journalists" can remain employed. The newspaper industry is in a "death spiral," she wrote in her final column, and its only savior now is big government.

"Years of foolish policies have left us with a choice: We can bail out journalism, using tax dollars and granting licenses in ways that encourage robust and independent reporting and commentary, or we can watch, wringing our hands, as more and more top journalists are laid off or bail out, leaving us with nothing in our newspapers but ads, entertainment features, and crossword puzzles." Very troubling indeed. Imagine the perilous condition into which California would have fallen without Tim Rutten's columns, the paper's week-long front page series on female boxers, and George Skelton's sage advice to the GOP.

And isn't it reassuring to know that the nation's safety is now in Rosa Brooks' able hands? As the United Kingdom's *Telegraph* noted, she comes to her high-ranking Pentagon job (she is an "adviser" to the Under Secretary of Defense) with impeccable qualifications. Among her other national security credentials, she has worked at George Soros's Open Society Institute in New York. She has also produced a steady stream of well-considered columns in which she called George Bush "our torturer-in-chief," compared life in America under Bush to "being a passenger in a car driven by a drunk driver," and said members of the previous administration embraced the "values normally exemplified by military *juntas.*"

The daughter of *Nation* contributor Barbara Ehrenreich, Brooks says she is "not taking a government job only because I feel lucky to parachute out before some cost-cutter eliminates every last column. At this moment in history, I can't imagine anything more rewarding than being part of the new team that's shaping U.S. policy." She calls this her "personal government bailout." CPR

The Fusionist

Obamanomics, like all socialism, is a preordained failure

But what Rush merely hopes *for the 'never waste a crisis' Democrats are counting on.*

GREGORY SANFORD

A TEMPEST AROSE among Republicans (also among top Democrats, but about them, I suggest only that readers continue to ignore their usual staged anguish) over Rush Limbaugh saying during his speech to the National Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) that he hopes "President Obama fails." Republican National Committee Chairman Michael

CPR *contributor Gregory Sanford lives in Southern California.*

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The original 'crisis is a terrible thing to waste' Democrat

Steele reportedly called the remark "incendiary" and "ugly." A less agitated Bill Bennett merely characterized Limbaugh's comments as "not what you say the first week the man's been inaugurated ... the rhetoric could be improved." *National Review Online* contributor David Frum broadened his attack to include Limbaugh's whole speech, lamenting that Rush is "a man who is aggressive and bombastic, cutting and sarcastic ...." Reputedly conservative writer David Brooks (a regular *New York Times* Op-Ed columnist since 2003, who, formerly, served *The Weekly Standard* as senior editor and *Newsweek* and *The Atlantic Monthly* as contributing editor — I leave it to readers to make the call whether or not this resume likely belongs to a "conservative") said "the idea that we shouldn't be rooting" for Obama is "just stupid."

These Limbaugh critics seemed to take issue less with what the popular national talk host said than with how he said it, as if to suggest that they might actually agree with his expressed hope but believed it bad tactics to have said it out loud — at least in *those* words. (The exception is David Brooks who, to give him the most charitable reading possible, seemed to think Limbaugh was calling for some sort of failure of the *presidency* or of the nation, as if Rush meant some disaster should befall the country angering the people enough to convince them to rebel against Obama. And he wants to lecture *us* on stupid ideas ....)

Not all conservative reaction was negative. Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal said the anti-Limbaugh uproar represented "political correctness run amok." He quite reasonably said his "answer to the question is very simple: 'Do you want the president to fail?' It depends on what he is trying to do." Just so, and one of the things I dare say *Limbaugh* was trying to do was combat the sometimes latent, but never far from the surface, Republican bad habit of appeasing sworn enemies, smilingly acquiescing in what they like to call "political reality." A more accurate description would be pre-emptive surrender or, simply, cave-in. The left can bring formidable pressure and enticements to bear, particularly on GOP office holders, to convince them to cave. As Stan Evans joked about the young Turk Reaganites who invaded the nation's capital in 1981 after RR's presidential election, "they came thinking Washington a cesspool, but many soon decided it was more like a hot tub." Reagan himself, not once but twice, was hoodwinked into supporting *higher* taxes, as was (once) George H. W. "Read My Lips" Bush, who lost his re-election bid after helping soldier-through a Democrat tax hike. That, Mr. Brooks, really *was* stupid. (W. seldom backed down once he had taken a stand, particularly on Iraqi liberation, which was one reason the left hated him so much. Hell hath no fury like a lefty confronting a designated sucker he finds he can't buy.)

The worst fall-out from these cave-ins usually comes not in the disastrous policy they bring the state or nation, although that's bad enough. They often also result in the collapse of whatever coalitions have formed or are forming to oppose Democrat misrule. Reagan's domestic agenda never recovered from his 1982 adventure in tax hiking, leaving America and the world able only to imagine what stunning victories in down-sizing abusive government might have been achieved (to match his solid historic triumphs in foreign and defense policy and his stupendous first year supply-side tax *cuts).* Sacramento Republicans who recently backed tax increases are feeling significant heat. The national Republican Party sacrificed its standing with the American people, W. lost his base of voter support, and congressional Republicans lost their majority (some even going to jail) — all for heeding the siren's song temptation to spend like Democrats.

Under the circumstances, I would say Limbaugh was quite right to criticize the unfortunate habit of GOP leaders, not to mention of many conservative commentators, to preface every criticism — no matter how scalding — of the latest Obama outrage by say-

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ing, in effect, "I really do want this administration to succeed but ..." It's like the nonsensical convention of complimenting our left-wing major news operations by calling them the "Mainstream Media" just before dissecting their latest all-out assault on America's actual mainstream. Did anyone ever hear a prominent Democrat political leader say he wished that W.'s or H. W.'s or any Republican administration *ever* would succeed? Try to visualize, say, Michael Moore or Harry Reid uttering such words and the impossibility of such a scene ever happening should be easy to understand. (I will concede that smooth talkers like Bill Clinton or Obama himself might be found expressing some such sentiments, but no one would be fooled by them, any more than anyone would be fooled by Stalin or Saddam Hussein assuring people their one true aim was world peace. Republicans, given their reputation as always-ready-to-make-a-deal, enjoy no such immunity against being believed when they seem to wish their opponents well.)

DEMOCRAT POLICIES are always terrible, but their tactics often work and, to the extent they are not immoral, often pay emulation. At least we need not send quite so many signals quite so clearly hinting that we may be ready to hear the next bribe offer or to cave before the next Democrat threat. Republicans sometimes seem positively blind — particularly those quickest to chide conservatives for "not wanting to win" and for "preferring purity to victory" — to the self-inflicted catastrophes they work on their own political fortunes through these defeatist collapses in the face of enemy operations. For a short list: they dispirit our rank and file foot soldiers (already betrayed, and feeling so, too many times to count); they signal a real or at least seeming weariness to continue the fight (giving comfort to the enemy); they indicate an unsteady grasp of principle, and, even worse, of the *importance* of principle, which is important especially to the conservative cause. Liberalism and all leftism consists in fleeing true responsibility and principled self-discipline; our cause is to uphold what Douglas MacArthur called "a great moral code — the code of conduct and chivalry of those who guard this beloved land of culture and ancient descent" against slavery to emotion and appetite, *viz.:* liberalism. It is also worth noting, for those concerned at all costs to avoid "incendiary, ugly," not to mention "aggressive and bombastic, cutting and sarcastic," rhetoric, that what we say to and about ourselves we often come to believe.

Here's a news flash: Obama's preferred policies have *already failed,* ten thousand times, wherever and whenever they have been tried. They *will* greatly damage the economy and our political and social culture. It is inevitable; count on it. Just how destructive they turn out to be depends largely on the built-in and residual vitality of the American people and their free institutions. But the only outcome possible for Obama's announced efforts — from tax hikes to nationalized health care and banking to blame-America-first foreign policy to renegade judges and the dismantling of our defenses against aggression — is failure, if by that you mean catastrophe for the American people and the American nation, as we must assume at least David Brooks means when he counsels us to "root for Obama." Perhaps ironically, it is, of course, the "you never want a serious crisis to go to waste" Democrats of this administration who wish ardently for just such disasters as some seem to worry Rush Limbaugh hopes for. They look back at history and see what devastating opportunities for tyranny were wrought by World Wars I and II and, between them, by the Great Depression; they see that Franklin Roosevelt, who utterly failed to end that depression, did not lose by that failure, but actually built on it a thoroughly dishonest reputation as a national savior. And seeing all this they seek to reproduce it today.

FDR built repeated New Deal failures into a dishonest reputation as a national savior.

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These people *like* terrorists, and cringe to hear them referred to as such. They hate America and traverse the globe saying everywhere that, yes, we Americans are the scourge of the planet and the cause of every peoples' misery, but we promise to do better, begging forgiveness in the meantime. From left-wing "muck-rakers" like Lincoln Steffens in the 19-teens and '20s to the Clintons, Gores, and Obamas of today, these are the people who championed, first, communism in its Stalinist, Maoist, Vietnamese, and Cuban forms and then jumped horses, without missing a (hoof) beat, to support Middle East Nazism and terrorism. They, not Rush Limbaugh, want America to fail, and are willing to ally themselves with any troglodyte ghoul if only he is willing to say he too hates America. By constructing possibly the most concentratedly-destructive policy agenda in history, they are doing everything they can to make America fail. In this, they — that is, Obama — will succeed to the extent the American people permit them to succeed. If Republicans stand for anything, they can scarcely do other than to hope, pray, and work ceaselessly for Obama to fail in what, as Bobby Jindal says, he, devotedly, "is trying to do." CPR

Those in power over us

Starting to Shrug

As government grows, the most productive members of society begin to change their behavior.

TED ARCHER

In 1957, with the United States fresh off its victory over fascism, Ayn Rand finished her opus, *Atlas Shrugged.* Not even she could have foreseen the prescience of the publication date until the Soviet Union launched the *Sputnik* satellite only days before its release.

Fitting, perhaps, that a novel espousing the virtues of capitalism, individualism, and reason would become available just as the nation's collective fear would erupt into a decades-long stalemate with the Soviet Union.

Rand was indeed prescient: she wrote about a national government that becomes increasingly involved in the private sector. In her novel, officials, tapping the crises of the day, use friends in the press to spread fear and suggest that only the central government can deliver the solutions the people so desperately desire. In a creative twist, the government refuses outright nationalizations of various industries — railroads, steel mills, copper mines — and in fact reacts with horror at the notion it would engage in outright socialist policies. And yet, despite outward claims that private industry is valued and that it will be allowed to prosper, the government enacts a series of laws that restrict and control private enterprise. Sound familiar?

But, although Rand's novel rails against an overreaching government, the book is not about the proper system of governance. Rather, it's about individuals — and how they react to incentives.

As Rand's government grows, as more people are on the public dole, and as more businesses rely on national legislation for their survival, the most productive members of society begin to change their behavior. The heads of industry and the most individu-

Ted Archer is a hard-working American employed, like most of us, by a small business. A marketing and operations consultant professionally, Ted is most concerned about his new wife, their new home, and starting a family together.

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alistic members of society begin to resent high taxes; they do not wish to work for the benefit of others; they consider government servitude to be immoral. Just as the central government increases its pleas to work for the benefit of others and cries that paying taxes is patriotic, these individualists react differently: They shrug. Unwilling to be cheated of their freedom and squeezed dry by a government that produces nothing except what it takes from the most productive, they walk away. And society — despite the bureaucrats' hand-wringing and chest-pounding — falls apart.

Today's American requires no imagination to be able to understand the staggering allegory. The federal government has executed a pseudo-nationalization of the country's largest "private" mortgage companies, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. It has "infused" billions into a myriad of other banks and our auto manufacturers. Long after subsidizing the railroads, the Feds are engaged in the largest expansion of government control in the history of the world. With two consecutive spending bills (one a "bail-out," the other a "stimulus package"), we have barely had time to blink as our representatives have begun funneling money into every industry imaginable — banking, automobiles, manufacturing, energy, education, health care, housing, farming, and even state governments.

The numbers have become so large that Americans have stopped trying even to comprehend them. The numbers are so large that Americans become glassy-eyed, numbed — to the point that we have just stopped thinking about them. The country, afraid and willing to follow anyone claiming to lead, has stood by as bureaucratic thieves have stolen (for pet projects) nearly $10,000 per working American. It makes the NASDAQ's bubble of the late 1990s look like fiscally responsible money management.

The government is printing and spending money to such an extent that it will be viewed as criminal to future generations. We are being robbed — and, further, told that we will have to pay for the privilege.

What is a responsible, hard-working individual to do? As someone with multiple graduate degrees and a six-figure income, I have been one of the government's responsible worker bees. Without taxes from people like me, there would be no Social Security, no subsidized mortgages, no Department of Education, and no National Endowment for the Arts. As I watched both parties of government spend us into near-certain bankruptcy, I realized that I have been duped. I had believed that I would be allowed to pursue my life freely and succeed or fail according to my own efforts. But, alas, I realized that this was a story told to people like me — so that I would continue working to support the day's glorious social programs.

My fellow citizens have traded freedom for security, and I've decided that I no longer wish to play along.

Perhaps it was when I was doing my 2008 taxes that I made up my mind. I was appalled that, before I spend a penny (and pay more in sales tax), the government takes 33 percent of my income. I was surprised that I no longer am allowed to deduct my student loan interest or invest in a Roth IRA retirement account (the IRS penalized me for trying). I was saddened that, despite sharing a rental house with three roommates and living a frugal lifestyle, the government collected twice as much money as I was able to save.

Perhaps I made up my mind while searching for a home. The norm with foreclosures and short sale properties seems to be people who bought too much

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house with speculative mortgages — and in many cases took out hundreds of thousands of dollars of additional cash to spend on whatever they wanted. When I enter these homes, I see holes punched in walls and stolen appliances. This was bad enough — but then I heard our president announce a plan to take more of my tax dollars to pay for peoples' mortgages, which will have the effect of driving up the price of the home I'm hoping to buy so that I can start a family.

Or, perhaps these are just the last straws. Either way, I see that my government has spent so much money that it can't possibly dig itself out of this hole — unless people like me continue to give, give, and give so that the half of our nation's inhabitants who don't pay federal taxes can continue to enjoy services they can't afford.

I've decided that it's time to shrug.

I can't bring down the federal government myself, but I can refuse to be fleeced any longer. I can voluntarily take a job with lower pay (I have). I can choose no longer to accept side work because the 50 percent marginal tax rate removes my incentive to help the economy grow (I have). I can stop buying things and services that are taxed — and instead hoard my money so as to undermine my government's attempt to steal from me (I have).

And, instead of living independently, *via* my belief that individuals should succeed or fail based on their own efforts and contributions, I can search for available programs and other ways to suck money out of the government's bloated bureaucracy (I will).

It makes me sick to know that I am giving in, but much less so than being constantly abused and told that I should be grateful for the opportunity.

There will be those who claim that I am what is wrong with America. They will give speeches about how it is patriotic to pay taxes, failing to mention that Boston once had a mini-revolution because of a tax on tea. They will offer a myriad of reasons why I should do more, not less, to support our bloated government. It is my duty, they will assert, to support the common good. But, what they fail to understand is that I value freedom much more than I value security. By stripping me of the former, our government has compelled me to do everything I can to prevent the latter.

So, during a time when our nation's politicians, economists, and media moguls are encouraging individual sacrifice for the sake of increased government activity, I have a different idea: just shrug. Just say no to the idea that you should carry the world's problems on your shoulders. If the government wants to pay peoples' mortgages, hitch your house to the wagon. If the government wants to buy cars, stand in line. If the government talks about health care for all, cheer and flood the ER.

"But," you say, "that will cripple the economy!" Yes, it will. But, the responsible members of our society have been supporting one failed government experiment after another for far too long — and look where it has gotten us. At least this way we no longer have to support the weight of the world, and perhaps in the aftermath — the rubble of the failed experiment that is collectivism — people will begin once again to value the rights of the individual and the sanctity of freedom. CPR

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Polar bears: thriving and increasing, not endangered

Earth Day Fallacies 2009

Welcome to the enviro-socialists' celebration of false 'crises' (useful to justify destroying human freedom)

By M. David Stirling

Since the first Earth Day in 1970, many Americans — myself included — have come to view April 22 as a symbolic occasion to renew our commitment to a clean and healthy environment, with a full and diverse natural world. At the same time, we balance that commitment with the recognition of our need for jobs, homes, transportation, energy, food, and numerous other items that make our lives not only livable, but comfortable.

Under the banner of the Endangered Species Act (ESA), however, the major green organizations that have dominated the nation's environmental agenda since that first Earth Day use aggressive lobbying, incessant lawsuits, and lucrative "help-us-save-this-species-from-certain-extinction" fund-raising appeals to restrict severely, and often prohibit, essential and reasonable human activity. Because they are driven by politics, they don't seem to mind resorting, in making their claims to justify their actions, to arguing fallacies rather than fact. If you doubt that, please consider the following five examples:

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Fallacy 1: The polar bear is endangered *(Fact 1: Not true)*

In 2005, three political activist organizations — the Center for Biological Diversity, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and Greenpeace — petitioned, and later sued, to list the bear as "endangered" under ESA. Their claim is that Americans' production of CO_2 contributes to global warming, which will cause the bears' ice floe habitat to melt, leading to the species' extinction within 45 years. Albeit reluctantly, in 2008 Bush administration Interior Secretary Dick Kempthorne listed the polar bear as "threatened." Both Pacific Legal Foundation and Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska — the state that holds the entire U.S. polar bear population — are now challenging this listing in federal court.

To say the case for those demanding the "endangered" designation is thin is to overstate its strength. No scientific evidence supports the charge that polar bears are declining. In fact, polar bear numbers have risen from about 5,000 in the 1950s to as high as 25,000 today — the highest number in 100 years. As to melting ice leading to the bear's extinction in 45 years, these long-term projections derive from highly speculative computer modeling data that even the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (an entity within the Interior Department) admits is unreliable.

If the polar bear's current listing under ESA due to global warming — the first species so listed — is sustained, it will open the floodgates to eco-lawsuits by these same organizations shutting down CO_2-producing human activity, as presumptively harming the polar bear. In contrast to the political claims of the activists, plenty of scientific evidence supports the conclusion that these suits, if successful, will bring enormous economic and social costs to our nation, as well as to every household. Imagine shutting down oil drilling and gasoline/diesel refining, motor vehicle manufacturing, transportation — including automobiles, trucks, buses, trains, and ships, power plants, residential and commercial construction, and agricultural production — and that is just the short list. The impact for polar bears will be nothing at all, but that does not mean these groups will have failed. On the contrary, they will finally have achieved the political objective they set for themselves long ago, one having to do with using state power to curtail and control human activity. The environmental questions they raise and the environmental impacts they impose are used to justify their progress toward this objective, never ends in themselves.

Polar bear numbers have risen from about 5,000 in the 1950s to as high as 25,000 today – the highest number in 100 years.

Fallacy 2: Tapping domestic sources of oil harms wildlife *(Fact 2: Not true)*

Beginning in 1982, other political activist organizations, including Defenders of Wildlife and the Sierra Club, successfully lobbied Congress, finally achieving a prohibition on all oil drilling off the Atlantic, Pacific, and Florida Gulf coasts. Their ongoing justification is that seabirds and marine life are harmed by oil leakage from off-shore drilling rigs. This claim is outdated. In fact, new drilling platform technologies prevented even Hurricane Katrina's wallop from causing *any* oil leakage among the 4,000 rigs off the central Gulf coast. In the past 15 years, not one oil spill from a platform has exceeded 1,000 barrels — a drop in the bucket compared with oil spills from tankers carrying imported oil.

The same groups also opposed oil drilling on the Coastal Plain of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. They justify their opposition on the charge that oil drilling activity will harm Arctic species such as the porcupine caribou, Arctic wolf, Emperor penguin, polar bear, and other species. Yet, as in the Global Warming-polar bear scenario, again *no* scientific data sup-

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The sun peeks through thick smoke pollution from wildfires caused by 'environmentalist' opposition to forest clearing

ports this claim. To the contrary, no Arctic species in the region has declined as a result of drilling activity since it began at Prudhoe Bay on Alaska's North Slope in 1968. In fact, for one example, the Central Arctic porcupine caribou herd has increased from 3,000 to more than 32,000 since 1968.

Fallacy 3: Fire-prevention practices on forest lands harm wildlife species *(Fact 3: Not true)*

Lobbying by the Sierra Club, Audubon Society, and others during the 1990s prompted the Clinton-Gore administration to change forest management practices drastically. Twenty-five million acres of forests in Washington, Oregon, and Northern California were put off limits to commercial timber harvesting, ostensibly to protect the habitat of the listed northern spotted owl. President Clinton also greatly expanded "wilderness areas," where humans were unwelcome, and closed hundreds of miles of national forest roads long used by firefighters to reach isolated wildfires. Salvage timber sales were terminated. As timber companies closed, thousands of timber families that had taken care of the forests left to find other work.

In 1999, the General Accounting Office warned that the accumulation of highly combustible fuel on the forest floor would lead to more forest acreage lost to wildfires, but the environmental lobby responded that forest fires are natural and should be allowed to burn without human intervention. When steps were taken during the Bush administration to restore healthy forest management programs that encouraged fire-prevention and fire-fighting practices, these eco-litigating organizations routinely filed ESA-based lawsuits to prevent those programs from taking effect.

By 2007, more than 85 percent fewer trees were being harvested than in 1990. As a result, forest lands became much more overcrowded with trees, overgrown with underbrush, and overfueled with dead or dying trees. They also became less accessible to fire fighting crews.

As the federal GAO predicted, wildfire destruction nationwide saw a remarkable jump: from 1.3 million acres in 1998 to 8.4 million acres in 2000, 7 million in 2002, and 9.3 mil-

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lion in 2007. Ironically, but sadly, wildlife species and their habitat were also destroyed.

Fallacy 4: The Navy's sonar training exercises harm marine mammals *(Fact 4: Not true)*

The Navy's sonar training exercises to detect quiet-running diesel-electric submarines began when the Soviet Union produced and started using stealth subs in the 1960s. Today, with North Korea, China, and Iran using these same submarines to shadow U.S. warships in western Pacific and Middle East waters, the U.S. Navy regards sonar training as vital to detect these submarines before they can close to within firing range of American targets. President Bush declared the exercises critical to national security.

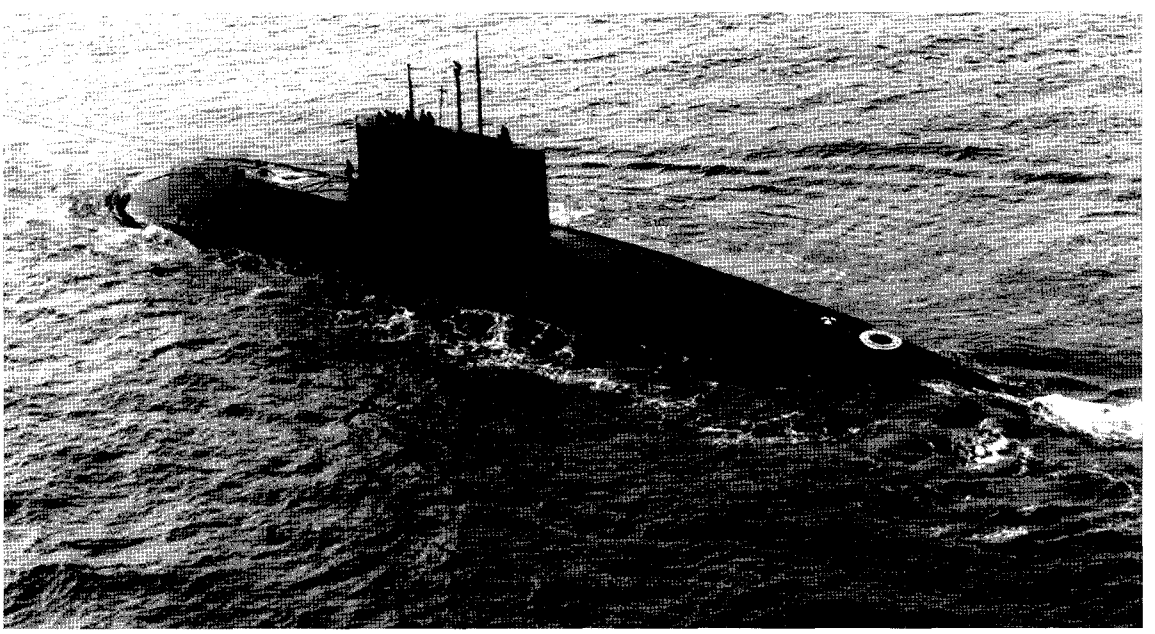
In January of 2007, the Natural Resources Defense Council filed suit to stop the exercises, claiming that the sonar sound pulses emitted by them jeopardized beaked whales and other marine mammals — again producing no documented evidence to show any life-threatening harm having come to marine mammals from 40 years of naval sonar training exercises. But as a result of their claim, a federal court severely restricted the sonar exercises, negating their training value. The Navy appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeal, which affirmed the district court's sonar use restrictions, declaring that "the armed forces must take precautionary measures to comply with the [environmental] law during its training."

This is one story, however, that ends (at least so far) more happily than most of the others about Earth Day myths. In an unprecedented 2008 opinion (*Winter v. NRDC,* Pacific Legal Foundation participating), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the lower courts' restrictions, ruling that without documented harm to listed species, national security prevails.

Fallacy 5: The Endangered Species Act is preserving listed species *(Fact 5: Not true)*

Although the hardcore green organizations tout ESA for preserving plant and wildlife species, ESA's impact is negligible. Of the 1,355 species listed under the law since 1973, only 21, according to the Fish & Wildlife Service, were "recovered" due to ESA. However, objective analysis of those 21 species reveals that ESA played *no significant role* in the recovery of 16. That leaves only *five* species for which ESA has contributed to their recovery.

Earth Day should represent a balanced, common sense approach to environmental regulation: one based on *facts;* not a harsh, uncompromising, political agenda based on fallacies. CPR



Iran, North Korea, and communist China use Russian-made 'Stealth Subs' to shadow U.S. warships. U.S. radicals used an Endangered Species Act lawsuit to try to ban U.S. Navy use of sonar to track these threats to national security.

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VOX POPULI

BY CASSIE CARLSON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CASSIE CARLSON

Before the TEA ("taxed enough already") Parties came the recalls: grass roots protests against GOP state office holders who had joined Democrats earlier this year in voting to hike California's already sky-high taxes. Talk radio became an important part of the discussion and coordination of those recall efforts. In the course of that discussion, it became increasingly clear that our current *state* battle over taxes was only part of a larger worry shared by many people across the country: the perception that somehow America is being transformed through bailouts, through a flood of spending, and through government controls over how we take care of our health, how we transport ourselves and our families to work, school, and leisure — controls over how we live our lives.

I first read about the TEA Parties on the Internet and heard about them on talk radio. Local people in towns and cities across America were showing publicly their disgust with the direction the country is heading and their determination to reverse it. For the record (and for major media reporters): I was not contacted by any Republican Party official or office holder, the TEA Party flyers I later saw and passed on to others were not prepared by the GOP, and the Parties I attended on April 15

Cassie Carlson is a Ventura County resident leading a busy life caring for her children, making ends meet, and occasionally dipping into the world of politics and political journalism.

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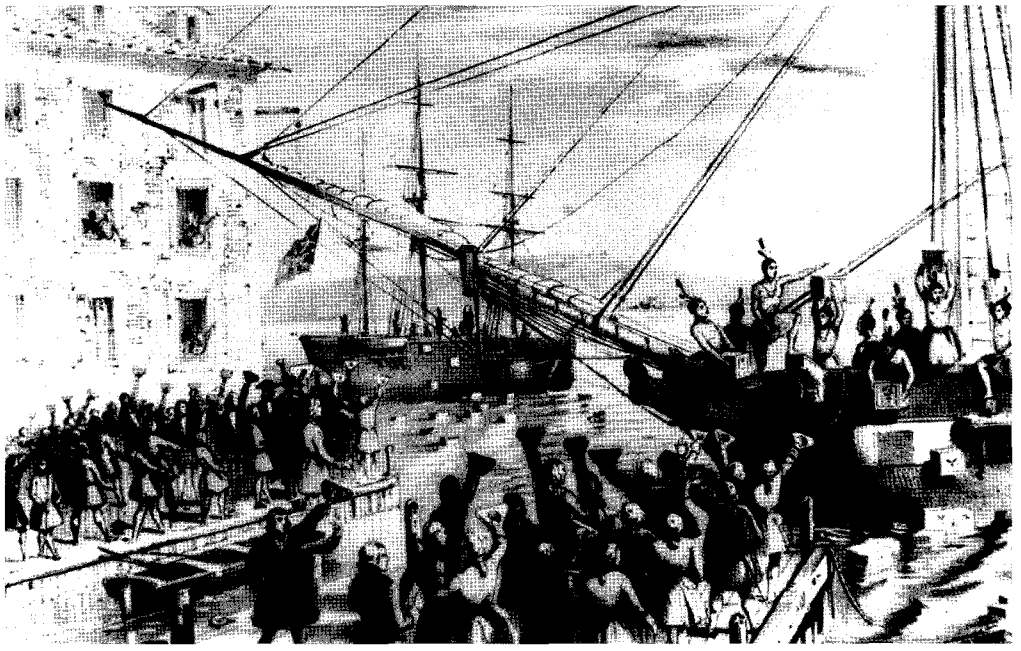

The Boston Tea Party

seemed almost completely devoid of Republican political types. One candidate — Assembly hopeful Jeff Gorell — spoke at one of the rallies. I did not see, either at the events I attended or in the report next day in the local paper, anything about appearances by the local Republican congressman, state senator, or assemblyman.

The Ventura County TEA Parties — like the more than 2,000 others that attracted more than one million participants across the nation — were organized by local people, most of them acting on their own initiative, calling their neighbors and friends, seeing the word spread, and showing up and standing on streets and sidewalks for long hours on tax day. They gathered at the local government center in Ventura, at a rally in Simi Valley, and at the entrance to the Reagan Presidential Library.

If official Republicans were absent, official Democrats just seemed clueless. White House economic adviser Larry Summers didn't know what a TEA Party was. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Californian Nancy Pelosi, said only rich people were protesting. Rich people? Hardly. They were thousands of young families, retired elders, and students on spring break, quoting their Constitution and showing revulsion over the power- and money-grabbing they see taking hold in too many places by too many people.

They listened to speeches and waved their signs at passing traffic and, in solidarity, passing cars honked continuously for hours. I saw no counter protests and one sign-holder in Ventura commented: "We don't know how to do this — we're not the homosexuals or ACORN whom we see protesting all the time."

The major media consistently reported that the Parties were planned and executed either by the Republican Party in a staged attack on the president or, if in fact these were authentic citizen protests, no one was involved except a lot of social misfits — extreme "right-wingers" and angry, die-hard racists. But the signs of protest in Ventura County and those beamed around the world from major cities were creative, heart-felt messages. Ninety-nine percent of them were about taxes, not the president. I saw one sign, evidently prepared with the media reporting in mind, that said: "Not about President Obama — It's about America."

While the major media seems to have done its best to ignore, distort, and just generally mis-report what occurred, I must say that my hometown *Ventura Country Star* published an article on the local Parties that was straightforward, informative, and even-handed. Here's a sample from April 16's *Star:*

> While the original tea party in 1773 involved American settlers angered over a new British tax on tea who dumped tea cargo in the Boston Harbor, the modern-day tea party has come to symbolize unhappiness with taxes and the way the government spends them.
>
> Organizers said the movement developed through conservative blogs and online social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter, and through exposure on Fox News .... Many [participants] criticized the $787 billion economic stimulus package Congress passed this year.

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"Trillions are being wasted on the bailout," said Kenny Molenhouse, an out-of-work manufacturer from Camarillo. "And they are not creating jobs."

That, I would say, is an honest summation of at least some of the key issues on the minds of those who put these protests together. It includes specifics, such as the exact size (huge) of the economic "stimulus" package alongside as concise a rendering as anyone could ask for of why that package is wrong (it's "not creating jobs") — and it permits one of the participants to put it into his own words without editorial comment or the usual distortions.

A little later, the report even included a mini-human interest story giving life and personality to the people — ordinary folks, just like you and me — who came out on tax day to speak their piece:

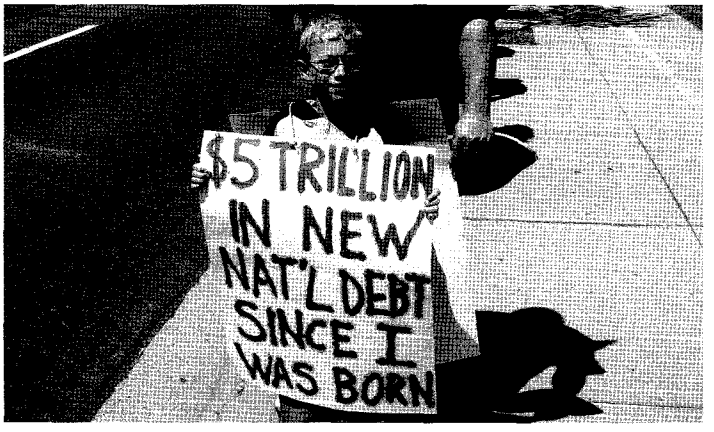
> Tamma DeHart dressed head to toe in a homemade pink pig suit ... to show her displeasure with government spending .... DeHart said her struggle to overcome near-foreclosure on her home motivated her to craft her elaborate pig costume. Years ago, her first husband left her, leaving her to cover payments on their house. She convinced the bank to restructure her mortgage and she had to take out a $100,000 personal loan, which she paid off. The bailouts are an affront to those who survived the hard way, she said.
>
> "No one bailed me out," said DeHart, whose current husband was one of the organizers of Wednesday's event. "I have a 10-year-old. How can I teach him fiscal responsibility when everyone has their hand out?"

Yet another good, succinct summary of the issue. But more to the point, I don't think I need say how unheard of it is to find, in the *L.A. Times,* say, or other major newspapers or on the network news, such fair treatment of anyone not repeating *verbatim* the liberal line of the day. In the *Star,* of all places, we find a *human being* rather than the "right-wing" scarecrow-straw man more of less universally encountered in reports on conservative political activities. The truth sometimes does have a way of getting out.

'The bailouts are an affront to those who survived the hard way'

What came across to me was that these people are not mainly interested in their wallets, although economic survival and the material welfare of their families are certainly among the major concerns that brought them to the protests. But the issue that really gnaws at them is simple justice: the idea that people who have worked hard to act responsibly and avoid burdening others should be painted as some sort of weird villains with a moral obligation to submit to being forced to "help" people who in many cases couldn't be bothered to exercise similar prudence in their own lives.

That is the issue that will keep these Parties happening. These folks know they are not the greedy "fat cats" or wealthy elites always under attack in the great liberal myth. They know they are the people — the ones, as George Bailey said in *It's a Wonderful Life,* who do most of the working and paying and living and dying in their communities. And they know that the America they want to preserve for themselves and, even more, for their children, is not one that sees them as no more than state revenue-producing machines or evildoers to be punished or, worst of all, helpless "victims" to be babied and bailed out whenever they encounter the risks life requires us to confront. They want an America that respects their contributions to the general good and won't repay them with abuse but with the only thing they really want government to do besides keep the peace and defend their freedom: leave them alone to live their lives and to prosper as Americans have always done. CPR



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A *New* New Deal?

or a

New California Tax Revolt?

May 19's Proposition 1A

By **John Kurzweil**

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"The goal of any political party is to win elections, to become a majority and to advance its ideals."

— Arnold Schwarzenegger, CRP convention, Sept. 2007

Now we know what he meant. Presumably, the governor's efforts to pass Propositions 1A through 1F may be taken as demonstrating his notion of Republican "ideals" in action. Employing a stratagem that *Sacramento Bee* political columnist Daniel Weintraub said "stinks" (one for which "Legislators and the governor should be ashamed"), lawmakers, Weintraub said, "rigged the ballot process to prevent a member of the public from writing the opposition argument." Weintraub nonetheless urges a "yes" vote on Prop. 1A and did not mention that these lawmakers went even further, arranging that the argument and rebuttal in opposition to 1A would be written and signed by *supporters* of the measure. The predictably perverse result is that no mention appears in either pro or con ballot arguments of the most controversial, most un-

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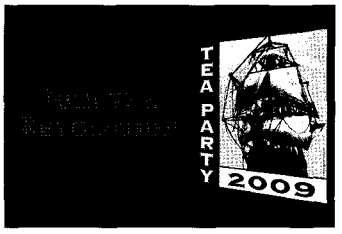
popular, and most important issue raised in this election: large tax hikes under an at least nominally Republican administration. If passed, 1A will double the historic tax hit California will have to absorb that lawmakers passed as part of this year's budget.



Careful observers of the Weintraub School of Political Philosophy might find confusing Mr. Weintraub's talk of a "rigged process" that "stinks" and that should cause "shame." It is, after all, only a year and a half since Professor Weintraub was heard lavishing praise on this governor for treating California voters to exactly this sort of duplicity in betraying his own campaign promises, his repeatedly-professed "core principles," and his own definition of "Republican ideals," while urging his slow-witted fellow Republicans to get with it, recognizing enlightened lying borne of rampant opportunism as the one rational road to political victory.

For a brief refresher: Weintraub's September 11, 2007, column praised the Schwarzenegger address to state Republicans quoted above — a "lecture," as Weintraub put it, on "their Party's increasing irrelevance in California." Weintraub joined the governor's sentiment expressed in that speech, arguing that the state GOP has "turned off voters" because it is "led" by "a loud and influential handful" of "social conservatives" who attack their own leader — the governor — while failing to emphasize Republican "core principles." Republicans, Schwarzenegger said at the convention, could end Democrat dominance in state politics if they "would only do more to reach out to independent voters" and "to disaffected members of both parties" because "many independent voters generally agree with the Party's core principles." Going into specifics, the governor said independent voters "believe in limited government that is not wasteful. They believe taxes should be as low as possible, because the more you give government the more it will spend .... They believe in individual freedom and the responsibility that goes with that freedom." But instead of playing to these strengths, he said, the state GOP's unbending conservatism was "turning voters off," "dying at the box office," failing to fill the seats, and so on.

He wrapped up with a flourish on how "proud" he was to be a member of the Party of Abraham Lincoln, who "righted the greatest moral injustice" in the nation's history. Weintraub fairly panted with enthusiasm over so much level-headed wisdom.

No doubt Sacramento's shameful lawmakers bore this wisdom in mind in rigging the 1A ballot arguments. Their private polling and focus groups most likely confirmed the results of a late-February Field Poll and a subsequent *Los Angeles Times* report. Field found 57 percent support for 1A with 20 percent opposition, but Field, like the ballot arguments, neglected to tell respondents that the measure included tax hikes. According to a Kersten Communications April 16 memo, the *L.A. Times* reported that when respondents *were* told about the tax increases, support for 1A dropped from 57 to 34 percent of likely voters. So of course — in keeping with the Weintraub/Schwarzenegger duplicity ethic of winning politics — the ballot arguments were rigged: certainly shameful, but the Weintraub School hardly seems in a position to object.

In any event, the maneuver has apparently failed to work and, whether aware or not of the measure's tax hike provisions, according to current polling (two-thirds of the way through April) California voters now reject 1A decisively. A SurveyUSA poll released April 22 reported 42 percent of voters are *certain* to vote "No," 29 percent certain to vote "Yes," with nearly one in three remaining unsure. SurveyUSA reported that 1A support "does not exceed 36 percent in any region or demographic group." Even giving the initiative every possible break in picking up current undecideds and the large funding advantage its supporters enjoy, it is difficult to see the measure digging out of so deep a hole. In addition, victory would require a 180-degree about-face in the overall direction of recent polling. A March 25 Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) survey gave Prop. 1A 10 points higher support at 39 percent than SurveyUSA's 29 points a month later. The governor now argues that his successful November 2008 Proposition 11 (redistricting) was at only 38 percent in a September 2008 PPIC poll and yet won narrowly, 51 to 49. 1A campaign consultant Rick Claussen says his polling, based on a 30 percent turnout model, shows Prop. 1A leading 50-37. Well, well, anything is possible, if not probable. We will see.

Mr. Weintraub, meanwhile, painfully a-twitter in 2007 about GOP "irrelevance" and electoral failure because its conservative base was so "out of touch," now has nothing to say regarding the governor's quixotic campaign for 1A as it relates to "the goal of any political party" or "including, not excluding" or who is and who is not "in touch" with voters. Apparently it's Bad Karma to trample the party's core principles, turn voters off, and die at the box office *except* when a chance to raise taxes rolls around. In advising a "Yes" vote for 1A, Professor Weintraub is silent on all these so re-

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cently pressing considerations. Now, like Vishnu come to earth in the tenth avatar, he prefers to float freely above these mundane concerns. As he informs the class in his "Vote for 1A" column, he is "a centrist who believes in prudent budgeting but is not aligned with either the tax cutters or the big spenders." Assuming he believes that, we may as well leave him to whatever comfort he finds in it.

SPENDING LIMIT

Tax hikes aside, supporters say the measure will finally rein in irresponsible spending by lawmakers. A new 1A TV spot, for example, says the proposition will enact "a spending limit they (the politicians) can't change." Schwarzenegger recently said 1A "says you can't spend more than 5 percent increase a year *(sic)* and the rest of it has to go into a rainy day fund. So it's a perfect way of really solving the big problem that we have had for decades."

The Official Voter Information Guide *(http://www.voterguide.sos.ca.gov/),* besides including the ballot arguments for and against 1A, includes the analysis of the measure by the non-partisan Legislative Analyst's Office (LAO). On limiting spending, it says "Proposition 1A *does not strictly limit* the amount of revenues that could be collected by the state or *the amount of spending that could occur.* The measure does not restrict the ability of the Legislature and the governor to approve tax increases to collect on top of existing revenues. Regarding spending, while the measure could make it harder to approve spending increases in some years by restricting the access to revenues, *it would not cap the total level of spending* that could be authorized in any year if alternative revenues were approved." *(emphasis added)* Besides betraying a certain level of shameful duplicity in the pro-1A message, this analysis seems to indicate that voters, if they approve 1A's doubling of the tax hike, will at the same time approve a doubling of additional spending beyond the Schwarzenegger "can't spend more than 5 percent increase a year" limit.

As to the contention that 1A "is a perfect way of really solving the big problem that we have had for decades," the Legislative Analyst warns that "even with the adoption of the 2009-10 budget and assuming that all of the propositions on this ballot pass, it is expected that the state would face multibillion-dollar budget shortfalls in the coming years .... based on current projections, the state will need to adopt billions of dollars in additional spending reductions, tax increases, or other solutions in the coming years" — with the course taken from among these choices to be determined by the very "politicians" the 1A TV spot says "can't change" the "spending limit." I leave it to readers to decide how well 1A "solve[s] the big problem that we have had for decades."

DUPLICITOUS CONTEXT

The distorted language the governor uses in discussing these budget issues, by the way, is entirely in line with the intentionally dishonest language employed in almost all Sacramento (and major media) discussions of tax-and-spend issues. The Leg Analyst passage just quoted, for instance, is full of words bearing upside-down meanings. For instance, consider the phrases: "budget shortfalls," "the state will need to adopt ...", "spending reductions," "solutions." Taking them one at a time:

"Budget shortfalls" — sounds as though cash coming in to the state is falling or is at least not rising as much as expected, right? But it is not. On the contrary, "revenue" has risen consistently over time and regularly outpaces expectations (except following tax increases). The problem is that spending keeps rising even faster. But the spending lobbies find it inexpedient to admit that over-spending is the culprit. So, naturally, Sacramentans, with the "watchdog" media boys happy to go along, instead talk of "revenue shortfalls." This transparent stratagem would fool no one honestly trying to understand what is happening, but the idea is to bamboozle the people, not to clear the matter up, so the phrase has become a fixture. It handily shifts the blame to *taxpayers,* implying they pay too little, ignoring the obvious conclusion that greedy government consumes too much.

"The state will need to adopt ... " — sounds as though government must *do* something proactive to correct matters when, in fact, it need only *stop* spending irresponsibly to end the "crisis." Would normal people facing out-of-control personal credit card debt say: "I must adopt spending reductions" or "I must spend less"? Form two clearly identifies the true culprit and indicates how simply (even if painfully) that culprit can be defeated. When we operate with our own money and future, we want to talk thus plainly and to the point. But state functionaries, operating with other peoples' money, find it in their in-

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terest to paint a complex, confusing problem so solution-resistant that, once more, only the magical power of state coercion can effect a rescue. So: "the state will need to adopt ... "

"**Spending reductions**" — sounds as though state government, spending at level X and realizing that its available funds are at level X *minus amount Y,* will do what is plainly required: reduce spending to X minus Y, just as any prudent citizen or business would do. What it *means,* however, in Sacramento budget-speak, is that we built automatically up-ratcheting mechanisms that grow spending every year by fixed percentages into our annual spending "process" in a deliberate effort to separate spending decisions from fiscal realities. The result is that now even spending every bit as much as we did last year or even a little more represents a painful cut from the level we *thought* we'd spend. Having to spend no more or only a bit more than previously is considered an unmitigated disaster in Sacramento. But if it cannot be avoided, this perverse dragooning of the phrase "spending reduction" to describe it facilitates government dishonestly claiming credit for manfully facing "the big problem that we have had for decades" when, of course, it has done no such thing.

"**Solutions**" — Sounds as though lawmakers' sole objectives consist of sincere, unselfish efforts to serve the public; this word is used to characterize whatever mendacious, greedy, self-serving, non-solutions the state adopts. *See* also: "The state will need to adopt ... "

These ballot measures, especially 1A, were put on the ballot as the latest attempt to "solve" the state's "long-standing" problem of chaotic, chronically out-of-balance budgeting. The "solutions" they offer, however, look strangely like more of the already Byzantine complexity now in place. To capture the flavor of things when the governor and legislators start in on budget writing, consider the rules put in place by 1988's Proposition 98 (passed, as many lawmakers hope will happen with 1A, with the support of a majority of voters). Under 98, according to the LAO:

> Proposition 98 provides K-14 schools with a guaranteed funding source that grows each year with the economy and the number of students ....
>
> There Are Three Formulas ("Tests") That Determine K-14 Funding. Which test depends on how the economy and General Fund revenues grow from year to year. Test 1: Share of General Fund. Provides 39 percent of General Fund revenues. This test has not been used since 1988-89. Test 2, used in years of strong economic growth, requires spending on education to equal the previous years spending plus per capita growth and student enrollment adjustment. Test 3, used in years of weak economic growth guarantees prior years spending plus adjustment for enrollment growth, increases for any changes in per capital general fund revenues, and an increase by 0.5 percent in state general funds.

Is all that clear? If you do not find it so, don't worry. It is not intended to be decipherable. It is designed to muddle your mind the better to keep you from meddling with the great and powerful while they take and spend your money.

GRAY DAVIS AND THE RECALL

The more recent history that brings the picture up to date involves the more-or-less final, complete collapse of responsible budgeting that preceded and led to the historic recall of former Governor Gray Davis. The voters, aware that the state was facing budget deficits running toward $50 billion and also that neither the governor nor legislators seemed able or perhaps willing to find any way out, decided it was time to clean house. Actor Arnold Schwarzenegger positioned himself at the head of this movement by combining his star appeal with heady talk of "blowing up boxes" and otherwise sweeping clean Sacramento's morass of dysfunctional processes, entrenched special interests, and shortsighted, apparently incompetent political leaders. Unfortunately, Mr. Schwarzenegger had no idea what he was taking on (the charitable view) or never actually intended to change much of anything, merely adopting the political line best calculated to win his race to replace Governor Davis (the hard-bitten realist's verdict). In any case, his governorship has delivered almost nothing of what he promised, instead landing California in even worse budget straights — in both immediate and long-run terms — than we saw in Davis's time.

A real solution was available to voters in the Davis Recall replacement candidacy of then-GOP state Senator Tom McClintock. But taking that course would have required Republicans to do the hard work, both before and, even more, after the recall election, of informing and persuading ordinary Californians as to why honest solutions should be adopted even if the disruption of actually blowing up the Sacramento boxes brought raucous vitriol raining down from the Capitol Powers on all of us. For whatever reason — perhaps not really very difficult to figure — Republicans chose

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the seemingly easy, although ultimately futile, Schwarzenegger route.

THE *NEW* NEW DEAL

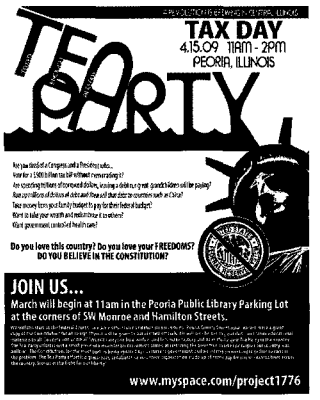
As I mentioned above, the pro-1A side draws comparisons to last November's behind-early but ultimately successful redistricting initiative, Prop. 11. But the issue with 1A is taxes, and it comes in the context of a near-boiling popular ferment on the topic, as seen in the more than 2,000 self-started April 15 Tea Parties. The major media, as usual, reports this issue all wrong, describing it as either partisan politics — the GOP desperately trying to manufacture an anti-Obama platform — or the final flailings of a few bitter-end racist extremists not knowing how to react to the coming of Obama the Great. But the issue is neither partisan politics nor ideological apriorism; it is justice. As Robert A. Hall, a retired Vietnam veteran Marine and former Massachusetts state senator, put it in his online blog: "I'm tired of being told that I have to pay more taxes to 'keep people in their homes.' Sure, if they lost their jobs or got sick, I'm willing to help. But if they bought McMansions at three times the price of our paid-off $250,000 condo, on one-third of my salary, then let the letfwing Congresscritters who passed Fannie and Freddie and the Community Reinvestment Act that created the bubble help them — with their own money."

The pattern that seems to be coming to full fruition under Obama and, on our smaller but still crucial California stage, is the one the Obamaites draw upon as their guide and inspiration, FDR's New Deal. In a phrase, it is the collapse of all concern and even respect for responsibility in governing. Under the guise of serving the country, Roosevelt used the immense power of the federal state to serve his political interests. Hillsdale College History Professor Dr. Burton W. Folsom reminded readers of a revealing New Deal Moment in "Are we headed for another Great Depression?", *Libertas,* Spring 2009:

> Under Franklin Roosevelt, fellow liberal David Stern, editor of the *Philadelphia Record,* received a key federal loan so that he could campaign to elect fellow liberals in the swing state of Pennsylvania.
>
> By contrast, Moe Annenberg, the editor of the conservative *Philadelphia Inquirer,* not only did not get a federal loan, he got a summons by the IRS to appear in court for income tax evasion. As FDR said to [Treasury Secretary] Henry Morgenthau, "I want Moe Annenberg for dinner." Morgenthau responded, "You're going to have him for breakfast — fried.'

It was Morgenthau who, in 1939 with unemployment still running at 20 percent, recorded in his diary that "we have tried spending money. We are spending more than we have ever spent before and it does not work." Of course, this truth was not permitted to sober up the FDR juggernaut charging toward freedom-killing socialism for America. Today, Big Government is so obvious a failure that even Bill Clinton said its era was over, even as he did nothing much actually to end it. National Center for Policy Analysis President John C. Goodman summed up in a recent speech how completely responsibility has simply ceased to exist in setting fiscal policy. "Government ... has performed abysmally. It has spent money it doesn't have and made promises it can't keep, all on the backs of taxpayers. The Trustees of Social Security estimate a current unfunded liability in excess of $100 trillion in 2009 dollars. In other words, for Social Security to be financially sound, the federal government should have $100 trillion — a sum of money six-and-a-half times the size of our entire economy — in the bank and earning interest right now. But it doesn't." And, believe it or not, "Medicare," Goodman said, "is six times larger [than Social Security] in terms of unfunded obligations."

While Washington and Sacramento continue to live by obfuscation and buck-passing, with the willing collaboration of the "centrist" (dishonest) media, the people know that their money and their families' futures are in the hands of rapacious men unworthy of trust. Their mood was captured by Rep. Tom McClintock, addressing one of the Tea Party rallies:


TAX DAY
4.15.09 11AM - 2PM
PEORIA, ILLINOIS
TEA PARTY
Do you love this country? Do you love your FREEDOMS?
DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE CONSTITUTION?
JOIN US...
March will begin at 11am in the Peoria Public Library Parking Lot
at the corners of SW Monroe and Hamilton Streets.
www.myspace.com/project1776

"Our opponents seek to portray us as angry taxpayers. No, we are not angry taxpayers. We are resolute Americans. And today, we here highly resolve that the liberties defended on far-off battlefields by ten generations of American patriots and heroes will not be casually thrown away here at home – not on our generation's watch." *That* is the story of the May 19 election; that is where the American and California mainstream are today. But don't wait to hear it told by what for some reason too many otherwise sensible people persist in calling "the mainstream media." *They* know the word "mainstream" describes not them, but the enemy. CPR

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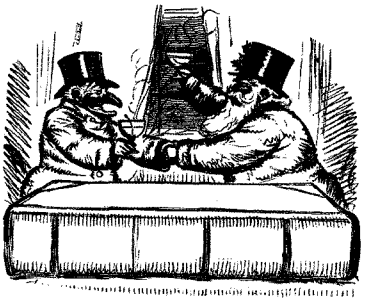

HISTORY

What *really* led to the Crusades?

Part 6 — Conclusion
The Ottomans and the Christian

BY JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

Few topics have become as confused, as clouded over with historical misinformation, or as conducive of a misplaced "say nothing about it; I already know more than I want to" complacency of mind than the Crusades — the series of military expeditions launched from Europe against Moslem-Turkish forces in the East commencing in 1095 and continuing through the following two centuries (which should, for historic completeness, also include the successful defense of Malta in 1565 against Turkish invaders; the naval defeat of the Turks in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto; and the final elimination of the Turkish threat to Europe in 1683 before the gates of Vienna).

*To provide continuity with last issue's installment (*CPR, *Jan./Feb. 2009), several of its final sentences are repeated here. — editor*

Now you may ask me, what were Christians doing in Europe all this while? What was the Holy Father about at Rome, if he did not turn his eyes, as heretofore, on the suffering state of his Asiatic provinces, and oppose some rampart to the advance of the enemy upon Constantinople? and how has he been the enduring enemy of the Turk, if he acquiesced in the Turk's long course of victories?

The Pope, in attempting to save Constantinople and its Empire, was attempting to save a fanatical people, who had for ages set themselves against the Holy See and the Latin world, and who had for centuries been under a sentence of excommunication. They hated and feared the Catholics, as much as they hated and feared the Turks, and they condemned them too, for their comparative rudeness and ignorance of literature; and

A clear picture of this vast conflict requires first that it be seen in its full historical context. To help supply that context, CPR *here publishes the sixth and final installment in this series: excerpts from a set of brilliant lectures "On the History of the Turks," delivered to English audiences in 1853 by John Henry Cardinal Newman. Newman gave his talks, as he put it, "when we [the English people] are on the point of undertaking a great war in behalf of the Turks" — in the Crimea — something Newman saw as requiring examination, given the Turks' historic role* vis à vis *the West.* CPR *here taps these lectures' larger value in placing the Crusades in the context of Western history. — editor*

John Henry Newman, English divine, philosopher, man of letters, and leader of the Tractarian Movement, lived from 1801 to 1890. See these excerpts at CPR Online: *www.cppf.us*

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this hatred and fear and contempt were grafted on a cowardly, crafty, insincere, and fickle character of mind, for which they had been notorious from time immemorial. It was impossible to save them without their own cordial cooperation; it was impossible to save them in spite of themselves.

When the celebrated Peter the Hermit was in Constantinople, he would have addressed himself first of all to its imperial master; and not till the Patriarch of the day showed the hopelessness of seeking help from a vicious and imbecile court, did he cry out "I will rouse the nations of Europe in your cause." The Emperors sought help themselves instead of lending it. Again and again, in the course of the Holy Wars, did they selfishly betake themselves to the European capitals; and they made their gain of the successes of the Crusaders, as far as they had opportunity, as the jackal follows the lion; but from the very first, their pride was wounded, and their cowardice alarmed, at the sight of their protector in their city and provinces, and they took every means to weaken and annoy the very men whom they had invited.

From the very first, they threw difficulties in the way of their undertaking. When the heroic Godfrey and his companions in arms arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, they found themselves all but betrayed into a dangerous position, where they might either have been starved, or been easily attacked. When at length they had crossed over into Asia, the Crusaders found themselves without the means of sustenance. They had bargained for a fair market in the Greek territories; but the Imperial Court allowed the cities which they passed by to close their gates upon them, to let down to them from the wall an insufficient supply of food, to mix poisonous ingredients in their bread, to give them base coin, to break down the bridges before them, and to fortify the passes, and to mislead them by their guides, to give information of their movements to the Turk, to pillage and murder the stragglers, and to hang up their dead bodies on gibbets along the highway. The Greek clergy preached against them as heretics and schismatics and dogs; the Patriarch and the Bishops spoke of their extermination as a merit, and their priests washed and purified the altars where the Latin priests had said mass. Nay, the Emperors formed a secret alliance with Turks and Saracens against them, and the price at which they obtained it, was the permission of erecting a mosque in Constantinople.

Crusaders enter Constantinople

RATHER THE TURBAN THAN THE TIARA

As time went on, they did not stop even here. A number of Latin merchants had settled at Constantinople, as our own merchants now are planted all over the cities of the Continent. The Greek populace rose against them; and the Emperor did not scruple to send his own troops to aid the rioters. The Latins were slaughtered in their own homes and in the streets; their clergy were burned in the churches, their sick in the hospitals, and their whole quarter reduced to ashes; nay, 4,000 of the survivors were sold into perpetual slavery to the Turks. They cut off the head of the Cardinal Legate, and tied it to the tail of a dog, and then chanted a *Te Deum.* What could be said to such a people? What could be made of them? The Turks might be a more powerful and energetic, but could not be a more virulent, a more unscrupulous foe. It did not seem to matter much to the Latin whether Turk or Greek was lord of Constantinople; and the Greek justified the indifference of the Latin by declaring that he would rather have the Turban in Constantinople than the Tiara.

It is the nature of crime to perpetuate itself, and the atrocities of the Greeks brought about a retaliation from the Latins. Twenty years after the events I have been relating, the Crusading hosts turned their arms against the Greeks, and besieged and gained possession of Constantinople; and, though their excesses seem to have been inferior to those that provoked them, it is not to be supposed that a city could be taken by a rude and angry multitude, without the occurrence of innumerable outrages. It was pillaged and disfigured and the Pope had to publish an indignant protest against the work of his own adherents and followers. He might well be alarmed and distressed, not only for the crime itself, but for its bearing on the general course of the Crusades; for, if it was difficult under any circumstances to keep the Greeks in a right course, it was doubly difficult, when they had

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Knights Templars

been injured, even though they were the original offenders.

But there were other causes, still less satisfactory than those I have mentioned, tending to nullify all the Pope's efforts to make head against the barbarian power. I have said that the period of the Ottoman growth was about 270 years; and this period, *viz.*, the 14th, 15th, and first half of the 16th centuries, was the most disastrous and melancholy in the internal history of the Church of any that can be named. It was that miserable period which directly prepared the way for Protestantism. The resistance to the Pope's authority, on the part of the states of Europe generally, is pretty nearly coincident with the rise of the Ottomans. Heresy followed; in the middle of the 14th century, the teaching of Wickliffe [who denied transubstantiation] gained ground in England; Huss and others followed on the Continent; and they were succeeded by Luther. That energy of Popes, those intercessions of holy men, which hitherto had found matter in the affairs of the East, now found a more urgent incentive in the troubles which were taking place at home.

The increase of national prosperity and strength, to which the alienation of kings and states from the Holy See must be ascribed, in various ways indisposed them to the continuance of the war against the misbelievers. Rulers and people, who were increasing in wealth, did not like to spend their substance on objects both distant and spiritual. Wealth is a present good, and has a tendency to fix the mind on the visible and tangible, to the prejudice of both faith and secular policy. The rich and happy will not go to war, if they can help it; and trade, of course, does not care for the religious tenets of those who offer to enter into relations with it, whether of interchange or of purchase. Nor was this all; when nations began to know their own strength, they had a tendency to be jealous of each other, as well as to be indifferent to the interests of religion; and the two most valiant nations of Europe, France and England, gave up the Holy Wars, only to go to war one with another. As in the 12th century, we read of *Cœur de Lion* in Palestine, and in the 13th, of St. Louis in Egypt, so in the 14th do we read the sad tale of Poitiers and Cressy, and in the 15th of Agincourt. People are apt to ask what good came of the prowess shown at Ascalon or Damietta; forgetting that they should rather ask themselves what good came of the conquests of our Edwards and Henries, of which they are so proud. If Richard's prowess ended in his imprisonment in Germany, and St. Louis died in Africa, yet there is another history that ends as ingloriously in the Maid of Orleans, and the expulsion of tyrants from a soil they had usurped. In vain did the Popes attempt to turn the restless destructiveness of the European commonwealth into a safer channel. In vain did the Legates of the Holy See interpose between Edward of England and the French king; in their very presence was a French town delivered over by the English conqueror to a three days' pillage (according to David Hume's *History of England).* In vain did one Pope take a vow of never-dying hostility to the Turks; in vain did another, close upon his end, repair to the fleet, that "he might, like Moses, raise his hands to God during the battle;" (as recorded in vol. i of Leopold von Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples)* Christian was to war with Christian, not with infidel.

The suppliant Greek Emperor in one of his begging missions, as they may be called, came to England: it was in the reign of Henry the Fourth, but Henry could do nothing for him. He had usurped the English Crown, and could not afford to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, with so precarious a position at home. However, he was under some kind of promise to take the Cross, which is signified in the popular story, that he had expected to die at Jerusalem, whereas he died in his palace at Westminster instead, in the Jerusalem chamber. It is said, too, that he was actually meditating a Crusade, and had ordered galleys to be prepared, when he came to his end (English historian Sharon Turner's *History of England during the Middle Ages).*

His son, Henry the Fifth, crossed the Channel to conquer France, just at the very, the only time, when the Ottoman reverses gave a fair hope of the success of Christendom. When premature death overtook him, and he had but two hours to live (Turner's *History*), he ordered his confessor to recite the Seven Penitential Psalms; and, when the verse was read about building the walls of Jerusalem, the word caught his ear; he stopped the reader, and observed that he had proposed to conquer Jerusalem, and to have rebuilt it, had God granted him life. Indeed, he had already sent a knight to take a survey of the towns and country of Syria, which is still extant. Alas, that good intentions should only become strong in moments of sickness or of death!

A like necessary or unnecessary attention, as the case

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might be, to national concerns and private interests, prevailed all over Europe. In the same century (according to Johann Karl Ludwig Giesler's *Text Book of Ecclesiastical History)* Charles the Seventh of France forbade the preaching of a Crusade in his dominions lest it should lay him open to the attacks of the English. Alfonso of Portugal promised to join in a Holy War, and retracted. Alfonso of Arragon and Sicily took the Cross, and used the men and money raised for its objects in a war against the Genoese. The Bohemians would not fight unless they were paid and the Germans affected or felt a fear that the Pope would apply the sums they contributed for some other purpose.

Alas! more must be said; it seldom happens that the people go wrong, without the rulers being somewhere in fault, nor is the portion of history to which I am referring an exception. It must be confessed that, at the very time the Turks were making progress, the Christian world was in a more melancholy state than it had ever been either before or since. The sins of nations were accumulating that heavy judgment which fell upon them in the Ottoman conquests and the Reformation. There were great scandals among Bishops and priests, as well as heresy and insubordination. As to the Pontiffs who filled the Holy See during that period, I will say no more than this, that it did not please the good Providence of God to raise up for His Church such heroic men as St. Leo of the 5th, and St. Gregory of the 11th centuries. For a time the Popes removed from Italy to France; then, when they returned to Rome, there was a schism in the Papacy for nearly 40 years, during which time the populations of Europe were perplexed to find the real successor of St. Peter, or even took the pretended Pope for the true one.

TAMERLANE VS. THE OTTOMANS

Such was the condition of Christendom, thus destitute of resources, thus weakened by internal quarrels, thus bribed and retained (so to speak) by the temptations of the world, at the very time when the Ottomans were pressing on its outposts. One moment occurred, and just one, in their history, when they might have been resisted with success. You will recollect that the Seljukians were broken, not simply by the Crusaders, but also, though not so early, by the terrible Genghis. What Genghis was to the Seljukians, such, and more than such, was Tamerlane to the Ottomans. It was in their full career of victory, and when everything seemed in their power, when they had gained the whole province of Roumelia, which is round about Constantinople, that a terrible reverse befell them. The Sultan then on the throne was Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, or the Lightning, from the rapidity of his movements. He had extended his empire, or his sensible influence, from the Carpathians to the Euphrates; he had destroyed the remains of rival dynasties in Asia Minor, had carried his arms down to the Morea, and utterly routed an allied Christian army in Hungary. Elated with these successes, he put no bounds to his pride and ambition. He vaunted that he would subdue, not Hungary only, but Germany and Italy besides; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter's, at Rome. The Apostle heard the blasphemy; and this mighty conqueror was not suffered to leave this world for his eternal habitation without Divine infliction in evidence that He who made him could unmake him at His will. The Disposer of all things sent against him the fierce Tamerlane, of whom I have already said so much. One would have thought the two conquerors could not possibly have come into collision — Tamerlane, the Lord of Persia, Khorasan, Sogdiana, and Hindostan, and Bajazet, the Sultan of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece. They were both Mahomedans; they might have turned their backs on each other, if they were jealous of each other, and might have divided the world between them. Bajazet might have gone forward towards Germany and Italy, and Tamerlane might have stretched his conquests into China.

But ambition is a spirit of envy as well as of covetousness; neither of them could brook a rival greatness. Tamerlane was on the Ganges and Bajazet was besieging Constantinople when they interchanged the words of hatred and defiance. Tamerlane called Bajazet a pismire whom he would crush with his elephants and Bajazet retaliated with a worse insult on Tamerlane, by promising that he would capture his retinue of wives. The foes met at Angora in Asia Minor. Bajazet was defeated and captured in the battle and Tamerlane secured him in an iron-barred apartment or cage, which, according to Tartar custom, was on wheels, and he carried him about, as some wild beast, on his march through Asia. Can imagination invent a more intolerable

Mehmed II entering Constantinople

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Soliman the Magnificent

punishment upon pride? is it not surprising that the victim of it was able to live as many as nine months under such a visitation?

THE INSCRUTABLE DECREE OF HEAVEN

This was at the beginning of the 15th century, shortly before young Harry of Monmouth, the idol of English poetry and loyalty, crossed the sea to kill the French at Agincourt; and an opportunity was offered to Christendom to destroy an enemy, who never before or since has been in such extremity of peril. For 14 years a state of interregnum or civil war lasted in the Ottoman empire; and the capture of Constantinople, which was imminent at the time of Bajazet's downfall, was anyhow delayed for full 50 years. Had a crusade been attempted with the matured experience and subdued enthusiasm that the trials of 300 years had given to the European nations, the Ottomans, according to all human probability, would have perished as the Seljukians had before them. But, in the inscrutable decree of Heaven, no such attempt was made. One attempt indeed was made too soon, and a second attempt was made too late, but none at the time.

The first of these two was set on foot when Bajazet was in the full tide of his victories and he was able not only to defeat it, but, by defeating, to damp the hopes and, by anticipation, to stifle the efforts that might have been used against him with better effect in the day of his reverses. In the year 1394, eight years before Bajazet's misfortunes, Pope Boniface the Ninth proclaimed a Crusade, with ample indulgences for those who engaged in it, to the countries that were especially open to the Ottoman attack. In his Bull, he bewails the sins of Christendom that had brought upon them the scourge that was the occasion of his invitation. He speaks of the massacres, the tortures, and slavery that had been inflicted on multitudes of the faithful. "The mind is horrified," he says, "at the very mention of these miseries; but it crowns our anguish to reflect that the whole of Christendom, which, if in concord, might put an end to these and even greater evils, is either in open war, country with country, or, if in apparent peace, is secretly wasted by mutual jealousies and animosities." (*Source:* Cardinal and ecclesiastical historian Venerable Caesare Baronius)

The Pontiff's voice, aided by the imminent peril of Hungary and its neighbouring kingdoms, was successful. Not only from Germany, but even from France, the bravest knights, each a fortress in himself or a man-of-war on land (as he may be called), came forward in answer to his call and boasted that, even were the sky to fall, they would uphold its canopy upon the points of their lances. They formed the flower of the army of 100,000 men who rallied 'round the King of Hungary in the great battle of Nicopolis.

The Turk was victorious; the greater part of the Christian army were slain or driven into the Danube and a part of the French chivalry of the highest rank were made prisoners. Among these were the son of the Duke of Burgundy, the Sire de Coucy, who had great possessions in France and England, the Marshal of France (Boucicault), who afterwards fell on the field of Agincourt; and four French princes of the blood. Bajazet spared 25 of his noblest prisoners, whom their wealth and station made it politic to except; then, summoning the rest before his throne, he offered them the famous choice of the Koran or the sword. As they came up one by one, they one by one professed their faith in Christ and were beheaded in the Sultan's presence. His royal and noble captives he carried about with him in his march through Europe and Asia, as he himself was soon to grace the retinue of Tamerlane. Two of the most illustrious of them died in prison in Asia. As to the rest, he exacted a heavy ransom from them; but, before he sent them away, he gave them a grand entertainment that displayed both the barbarism and the magnificence of the Asiatic. He exhibited before them

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his hunting and hawking equipage, amounting to 7,000 huntsmen and as many falconers; and, when one of his chamberlains was accused before him of drinking a poor woman's goat's milk, he literally fulfilled the "castigat auditque" of the poet, by having the unhappy man ripped open, in order to find in his inside the evidence of the charge.

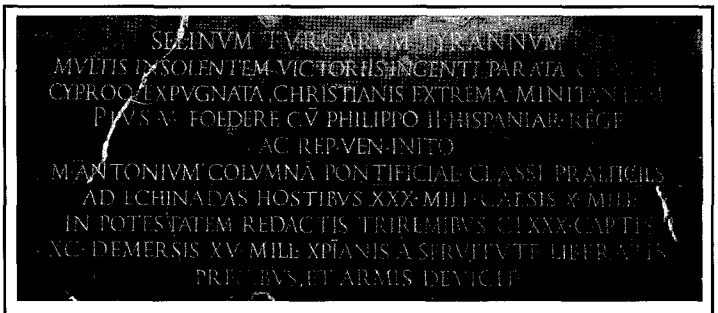
Such was the disastrous issue of the battle of Nicopolis; nor is it surprising that it should damp the zeal of the Christians and weaken the influence of the Pope for a long time to come. Anyhow, it had this effect till the critical moment of the Turkish misfortunes was over, and the race of Othman was recovering itself after the captivity and death of its Sultan. "Whereas the Turks might have been expelled from Greece on the loss of their Sultan," says Rainaldus, "Christians, torn to pieces by their quarrels and by schism, lost a fit and sufficient opportunity. Whence it followed, that the wound inflicted upon the beast was not unto death, but he revived more ferocious for the devouring of the faithful."

However, Christendom made a second attempt still, but when it was too late. The grandson of Bajazet was then on the throne, one of the ablest of the Sultans; and, though the allied Christian army had considerable success against him at first, in vain was the bravery of Hunniades, and the preaching of St. John Capistran: the Turk managed to negotiate with its leaders, to put them in the wrong, to charge them with perjury, and then to beat them in the fatal battle of Varna in which the King of Hungary and Poland and the Pope's Legate were killed with 10,000 men. In vain after this was any attempt to make head against the enemy; in vain did pope after pope raise his warning voice and point to the judgment that hung over Christendom. Constantinople fell.

SOLIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT

Thus things did but go on worse and worse for the interest of Christendom. Even the taking of Constantinople was not the limit of the Ottoman successes. Mahomet the Conqueror, as he is called, was but the seventh of the great Sultans, who carried on the fortunes of the barbarian empire. An eighth, a ninth followed. The ninth, Selim, returned from his Eastern conquests with the last of the Caliphs in his company, and made him resign to himself the prerogatives of pontiff and Lawgiver, which the Caliph inherited from Mahomet. Then came a tenth, the greatest perhaps of all, Soliman the Magnificent, the contemporary of the Emperor Charles, Francis the First of France, and Henry the Eighth of England. And an eleventh might have been expected, and a twelfth, and the power of the enemy would have become greater and greater, and would have afflicted the Church more and more heavily; and what was to be the end of these things? What was to be the end? why, not a Christian only, but any philosopher of this world would have known what was to be the end, in spite of existing appearances. All earthly power has an end; it rises to fall, it grows to die; and the depth of its humiliation issues out of the pride of its lifting up. This is what even a philosopher would say; he would not know whether Soliman, the tenth conqueror, was also to be the last. But if not the tenth, he would be bold to say it would be the twelfth, who would close their victories, or the fifteenth, or the twentieth. But what a philosopher could not say, what a Christian knows and enjoys, is this, that one earthly power there is which is something more than earthly, and which, while it dies in the individual, for he is human, is immortal in its succession, for it is divine.

It was a remarkable question addressed by the savage Tartars of Genghis to the missionaries whom the Pope sent them in the thirteenth century: "Who was the Pope?" they asked; "was he not an old man, 500 years of age?" It was their one instinctive notion of the religion of the West, and the Turks in their own history have often had cause to lament over its truth. Togrul Beg first looked towards the West, in


SELINVM TVRC ARVM TYRANNVM
MVLTIS INSOLENTEM VICTORIIS INGENTI PARATA
CYPRO EXPVGNATA CHRISTIANIS EXTREMA MINITANTEM
PIVS V FOEDERE CV PHILIPPO II HISPANIAR REGE
AC REP VEN INITO
M ANTONIVM COLVMNA PONTIFICIAE CLASSI PRAEFECTVS
AD ECHINADAS HOSTIBVS XXX MILL CAESIS X MILL
IN POTESTATEM REDACTIS TRIREMIBVS CLXXX CAPTIS
XC DEMERSIS XV MILL XPIANIS A SERVITVTE LIBERATIS
PRECIBVS ET ARMIS DEVICTE

Inscription in the Sistine Chapel commemorating the Battle of Lepanto, 1571.

The translation:

Pius V, on forging an alliance with Philip II, King of the Spanish and with the Republic of Venice, (defeated) Selinus, Tyrant of the Turks who becoming insolent after many victories conquered Cyprus with an enormous fleet and was threatening Christendom with extinction

Mark Anthony Collona, Admiral of the Papal Fleet by prayer and arms defeated at Lepanto the enemy: 30,000 killed, 10,000 taken captive, 158 ships captured, 90 sunk, 15,000 Christians freed from slavery.

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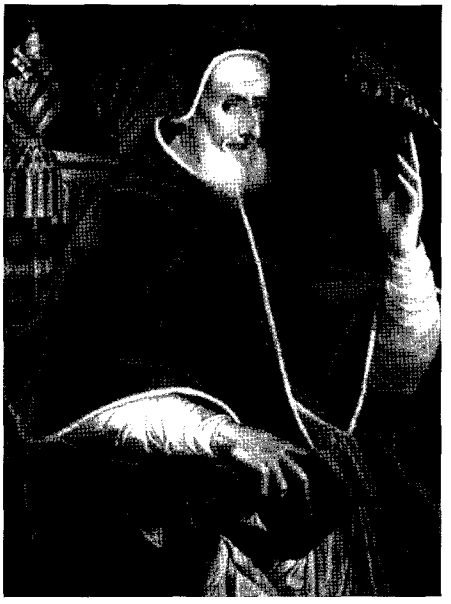

Pope Pius V

the year 1048; twenty years later, between the years 1068 and 1074 (Gibbon says twenty years: Sharon Turner gives 1074), his successor, Malek Shah, attracted the attention of the great St. Gregory the Seventh. Time went on; they were thrown back by the impetuosity of the Crusaders; they returned to the attack. Fresh and fresh multitudes poured down from Turkistan; the furious deluge of the Tartars under Genghis spread itself and disappeared; the Turks sunk in it, but emerged; the race seemed indestructible; then Othman began a new career of victory, as if there had never been an old one, and founded an empire, more stable, more coherent than any Turkish rule before it. Then followed Sultan after Sultan, each greater than his predecessor, while the line of popes had indeed many bright names to show, pontiffs of learning and of piety and of genius, of zeal and energy; but still where was the destined champion of Christendom, the holy, the inflexible, the lion-hearted, the successor of St. Gregory, who in a luxurious and self-willed age, among his other high duties and achievements, had the mission, by his prayers and by his efforts, of stopping the enemy in his full career, and of rescuing Catholicism from the pollution of the blasphemer? The 500 years were not yet completed.

But the 500 years at length were run out; the long-expected champion was at hand. He appeared at the very time when the Ottoman crescent had passed its zenith and was beginning to descend the sky. The Turkish successes began in the middle of the 11th century; they ended in the middle of the 16th.

PIUS THE FIFTH

The Holy See fell vacant and a pope had to be appointed in the great need of the Church. St. Pius the Fifth was elected to the throne of the Apostle in 1566, and Selim the Sot came to the throne of Othman that very same year.

It is not to be supposed that a saint on whom lay the "solicitude of all the churches" should neglect the tradition that his predecessors of so many centuries had bequeathed to him of zeal and hostility against the Turkish power. He was only six years on the Pontifical throne; and the achievement of which I am going to speak was among his last; he died the following year. At this time the Ottoman armies were continuing their course of victory; they had just taken Cyprus, with the active cooperation of the Greek population of the island, and were massacring the Latin nobility and clergy, and mutilating and flaying alive the Venetian governor. Yet the Saint found it impossible to move Christendom to its own defence. How, indeed, was that to be done, when half Christendom had become Protestant, and secretly perhaps felt as the Greeks felt, that the Turk was its friend and ally? In such a quarrel England, France, and Germany were out of the question. At length, however, with great effort, he succeeded in forming a holy league between himself, King Philip of Spain, and the Venetians. Don John of Austria, King Philip's half brother, was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces and Colonna admiral. The treaty was signed on the 24th of May; but such was the cowardice and jealousy of the parties concerned, that the autumn had arrived and nothing of importance was accomplished. With difficulty were the armies united; with difficulty were the dissensions of the commanders brought to a settlement. Meanwhile, the Ottomans were scouring the Gulf of Venice, blockading the ports, and terrifying the city itself.

But the holy Pope was securing the success of his cause by arms of his own that the Turks understood not. He had been appointing a *Triduo* of supplication at Rome and had taken part in the procession himself. He had proclaimed a jubilee to the whole Christian world, for the happy issue of the war. He had been interesting the Holy Virgin in his cause. He presented to his admiral, after High Mass in his chapel, a standard of red damask, embroidered with a crucifix and with the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul and the legend, *In hoc signo vinces.* Next, sending to Messina, where the allied fleet lay, he assured the general-in-chief and the armament that "if, relying on divine rather than on human help, they attacked the enemy, God would not be wanting to His own cause. He augured a prosperous and happy issue; not on any light or random hope, but on a divine guidance and by the anticipations of many holy men." Moreover, he enjoined the officers to look to the good conduct of their troops; to repress swearing, gaming, riot, and plunder,

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and thereby to render them more deserving of victory. Accordingly, a fast of three days was proclaimed for the fleet, beginning with the Nativity of our Lady; all the men went to confession and communion and appropriated to themselves the plentiful indulgences the Pope attached to the expedition. Then they moved across the foot of Italy to Corfu with the intention of presenting themselves at once to the enemy. Being disappointed in their expectations, they turned back to the Gulf of Corinth and there, on October 7, they found the Turkish fleet half-way between Lepanto and the Echinades on the north and Patras in the Morea on the south. Although it was towards evening, strong in faith and zeal, they at once commenced the engagement.

The night before the battle and the day itself, aged as he was and broken with a cruel malady, the Saint had passed in the Vatican in fasting and prayer. All through the Holy City the monasteries and the colleges were in prayer too. As the evening advanced, the Pontifical treasurer asked an audience of the Sovereign Pontiff on an important matter. Pius was in his bedroom and began to converse with him when suddenly he stopped the conversation, left him, threw open the window, and gazed up into heaven. Then closing it again, he looked gravely at his official and said, "This is no time for business; go, return thanks to the Lord God. In this very hour our fleet has engaged the Turkish, and is victorious." As the treasurer went out, he saw him fall on his knees before the altar in thankfulness and joy.

And a most memorable victory it was: upwards of 30,000 Turks are said to have lost their lives in the engagement, and 3,500 were made prisoners. Almost their whole fleet was taken. I quote from Protestant authorities when I say that the Sultan, on the news of the calamity, neither ate, nor drank, nor showed himself, nor saw anyone for three days; that it was the greatest blow the Ottomans had endured since Tamerlane's victory over Bajazet a century and a half before. Nay, that it was the turning-point in the Turkish history* and that, although the Sultans have had isolated successes since, yet from that day they undeniably and constantly declined, that they have lost their prestige and their self-confidence, and that the victories gained over them since are but the complements and the reverberations of the overthrow at Lepanto.

Such was the catastrophe of this long and anxious drama; the hosts of Turkistan and Tartary had poured down from their wildernesses through ages, to be withstood, and foiled, and reversed by an old man. It was a repetition, though under different circumstances, of the history of Leo and the Hun. In the contrast between the combatants we see the contrast of the histories of good and evil. The enemy, as the Turks in this battle, rushing forward with the terrible fury of wild beasts; and the Church, ever combating with the energetic perseverance and the heroic obstinacy of St. Pius. CPR

* "The battle of Lepanto arrested for ever the danger of Mahometan invasion in the south of Europe." — Sir Archibald Alison's *The History of Europe,* vol. ix. p. 95 (1850). "The powers of the Turks and of their European neighbours were now nearly balanced; in the reign of Amurath the Third, who succeeded Selim, the advantages became more evidently in favour of the Christians; and since that time, though the Turks have sometimes enjoyed a transitory success, the real stability of their affairs has constantly declined."—James Bell's *A System of Geography Popular and Scientific*, vol. ii, part 2 (1836). *Vid.* also Ranke, vol. i., pp. 381-2. It is remarkable that it should be passed over by Professor Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy in his *Fifteen Decisive Battles* (1851).

Mount Ararat, eastern Turkey

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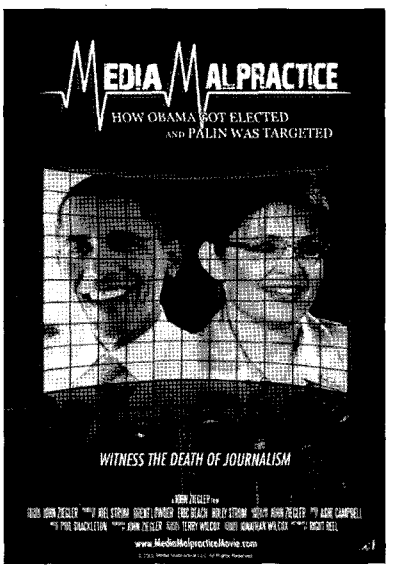
FILM

Bias in the media?

BY ELDON QUICK

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, start your computers! I want to tell you about a documentary that will be available only through the Internet (I have a feeling this is going to happen more and more. It is available for purchase at: *www.mediamalpracticemovie.com**). Now, I'm no computer wiz, and, to tell the truth, computers and I don't get along well at all. But in our current political climate the Internet will often be the only place a non-politically correct documentary can receive exposure. So one who wants to see the other side of the coin will have to master that cantankerous, confusing machine and head for the Internet.

Media Malpractice, How Obama Got Elected and Palin Was Targeted is a documentary on how biased and frequently false media reporting made a fair presidential election impossible. John Ziegler



(producer, writer, director) does more than say what we all already know: that the news media is biased. He shows how the bias works and how it affected the primaries and the general election. He uses recordings of newscasters and samples of print media to trace the media evolution away from supporting Hillary Clinton on to backing Barak Obama. The media then turned its full opinion-forming force into an all-out attack on John McCain's vice presidential running mate, Alaska Governor Sara Palin. This documentary is not just for those of us who've complained for years about media bias. It is for anyone who doubts the bias exists. *Media Malpractice* leaves no doubt. It also leaves no doubt that journalism, if you define it as an endeavor to discover the truth and report it, is dead. It has been replaced by a slavish adherence to the worldview of the national Democrat Party leadership which seeks to impose it on all of us. This phenomenon is not a conspiracy, but rather a stunningly complete exercise in groupthink.

Media Malpractice's most powerful moments come with Zie-

*This review, perhaps, should be about the web site more than the movie. Site visits are free and includes sections of Ziegler's documentary, include hilarious TV clips showing Ziegler interviewed by Barbara Walters, Sean Hannity, and Alan Colmes, among others. Ziegler turns the most loaded question around with facts that expose the interviewer-turned propagandist, not to mention fool.

Also, after his polling place survey elicited howls of protest, Ziegler commissioned several professional polls designed to refute or support the "ignorant Obama voters" (compared with McCain voters) premise. The web site carries the results — and the discomfort they caused — well worth a visit by themselves.

CPR *movie critic Eldon Quick recently interviewed film maker John Ziegler. The complete transcript of that conversation will appear in* CPR's *next issue.*

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gler's Sara Palin interview in her Alaska home, during which Palin, apparently for the first time, sees certain television commentary on her and on her interviews and her family. Ziegler has done great service to the nation (and to the governor) by giving her this chance to set the record straight on the voluminous misconceptions the news media created about her. Ziegler also lets Palin state her opinions regarding several television interviews, particularly about the biased, misleading editing designed to make her look uninformed and naive — the sort of dishonest cutting and splicing "60 Minutes" pioneered long years ago. Ziegler's interview shows us a woman of extraordinary grace and natural intelligence. She lacks the East Coast accent and the proper "fly-over" disdain for real people. What she has is class. You won't find me objecting if this shamelessly false characterization of a public figure makes you cancel your newspaper and magazine subscriptions and turn off your television (except Fox News and *California Political Review,* of course).

ANOTHER SEGMENT of the movie will make viewers want to tear their hair out. Near the end, *Media Malpractice* shows Ziegler interviewing outside a polling place with some dozen or so voters who have just cast ballots for Obama. Asking real hard questions like "which party controls Congress?" and "do you know who Nancy Pelosi is?" or Harry Reid or Barney Frank? Displaying breathtaking ignorance, most thought Republicans controlled Congress and couldn't identify any of the Democrat Party leaders. But worse was to come.

Questioned on specific candidate statements, actions, and personal stories — for instance, Who said: "I have campaigned in 57 states"?; "I can see Russia from my house?"; "Who has a pregnant teenage daughter?"; "Who had his opponents removed from the ballot?" — whenever a question called a candidate's intelligence or honesty into question, Ziegler's respondents answered: "Sara Palin."

On the other hand, they knew almost nothing *un*appealing about Barak Obama. Our major media types like to talk about their "Watch Dog" role — you know, the vision of themselves as fearless soldiers for truth calmly and professionally facing down power in selfless service to the people's right to know. *Media Malpractice,* and especially those closing interviews, expose this fraudulent myth for the hypocritical hogwash it is. If these major media propagandists show any sort of fearlessness on any front, it is on exposing themselves as devoid of honor, honesty, and professional integrity (although, in some cases, they may simply lack basic journalistic competence).

If these Obama voters could sue for media malpractice as easily as for medical, the next scene would be of these freest, best-financed "news" vendors in the world seated in the witness stand or at court room defense tables, losing their collective shirts. CPR

Alaska Governor Sarah Palin with John Ziegler

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First Things

Easter ruminations

by John Kurzweil

Father, if Thou wilt, remove this chalice from Me; yet not My will, but Thine be done.

— Luke, 22: 41-43.

Christ confronted this central question of civilization on the Mount of Olives when tempted to rebel at the moment of His greatest anguish about what His Father had asked Him to do. It is civilization's central question both because the West's foundation is the Bible and because our choices in this regard tend to determine our stance on good, love, life, truth, and beauty: the First Things. For example, in a now-famous September 2000 debate (with conservative author Alan Keyes) on religion in society, liberal Law Professor Alan Dershowitz's case against religion ended up ambushing *both* good and truth. Religion, Dershowitz said:

> is very divisive ... because it tells you there is one, true God and 'our religion knows who it is [and] all the other religions are wrong.' A recent encyclical from the Catholic Church put it very directly: 'He who believes in Jesus Christ and is baptized will be saved, he who does not believe will be condemned.' It's as simple as that. What kind of a God would condemn you for disbelieving in Him? That approach to religion sounds like petty tyranny. If you think through faith and you try your best in [Paul Tilock's] sense of trying to deal with the ultimate, and after thinking hard and giving all the benefit of the doubt, you come away saying on balance, "I don't believe," — you should be punished for that, for that true exercise of belief by eternal damnation? .... That's not the kind of morality we should be encouraging!

For the record, it was Jesus who told His apostles: "Preach the gospel to the whole of creation; he who believes and is baptized will be saved; he who refuses belief will be condemned." (Mk 16:16)* The Catholic Church merely avers (in its *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church),* "that this pilgrim Church is necessary for salvation" because Christ insisted expressly on baptism as well as faith.

For his part, Dershowitz first eliminates the central question by arbitrarily re-assigning authorship of religious precepts from God to men. The choice is then one of *human* wills: mine or that of my fellow creatures whose sole claim to authority is that they *say* they "know who God is." The professor seems to consider thus rigging the very point in dispute as perfectly consistent with a "true exercise of belief."

He argues that we are "more moral" if we do what is right "not because of some promise of redemption or some threat of damnation but because it's the right thing to do." OK, but how do we know what *is* this "right thing"? On that, Dershowitz simply jumps ship: "I don't know what's right," he says. Then, to his audience: "*you* don't know what's right." No one knows, and that, he says, is good because "the minute you think you know what's right ... you have lost a very precious aspect of growing and developing." Just how you act morally under these circumstances he does *not* say.

But one thing he *does* know: right is right "not because God says so — certainly I don't hear the voice of God [and] I don't believe any human being has ever heard the voice of God." One idly wonders whether he considers this conclusion "right."

Is all this a "true exercise of belief" or merely a rebellion against deferring to God's will? Dershowitz, having written off "a God" who would "condemn you for disbelieving in Him" as a petty tyrant, *and* having eliminated everyone else as unqualified to say what "right" is, has vaporized the central question. No one, it turns out, holds authority, so do what you want. Is this an honest "thinking through faith"? Even poor, dumb folk who "don't know what's right" might find the answer to that: an emphatic *no.* CPR

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

*Knox translation; The King James Bible renders the passage: "Preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

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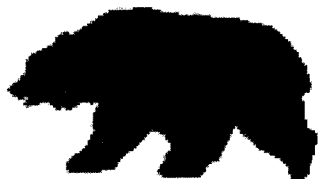

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